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SERIES II

VOLUME 2

SELECTED ARTICLES ON
A FEDERAL DEPARTMENT
OF EDUCATION

COMPILED BY
JULIA E. JOHNSEN

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

The present Handbook is based on educational legislation before the Congress of the United States from 1918 and earlier, to date. More specifically, it is based on the features which were prominently advocated in the last Congress, as exemplified by the Curtis-Reed Bill and others. The advocates of the Curtis-Reed Bill expect to reintroduce it into the coming Congress. The provisions which are of immediate interest today and have figured most prominently in the attempted federal legislation, with the exception of federal aid, are a Federal Department of Education with a secretary in the Cabinet, an enlargement of national functions of educational research and fact-finding, and coordination of existing educational functions in the national government.

The Handbook has been preceded by two volumes of the Reference Shelf. *The Towner-Sterling Bill*, Vol. 1, No. 5, by Lamar T. Berman was published in December, 1922, a revised edition being printed in April, 1924; and the *Federal Department of Education*, Vol. 4, No. 5, by the present compiler, was published in November, 1926. Both of these volumes are now out of print. Federal aid to education, which was a prominent feature of the first volume, is not now being actively advocated, but it still retains a general interest owing to its prominence in bills and discussion from 1918 to 1925, to its being still an article of belief with many advocates of present educational legislation, but more particularly to the fact that present opponents of educational bills as today advocated profess to see in a stronger educational program of the national government the initial steps which will

lead to federal aid. The latter volume was based specifically on the provisions of the Curtis-Reed Bill. For the benefit of those who may not have access to the above volumes the full bibliography is carried over to the present volume.

This Handbook has been compiled with the needs of debaters specifically in mind, but is intended also for the student and reader who may desire comprehensive reading on the general merits of the subject. A few articles have been reprinted from the earlier volumes, but so far as possible the effort has been made to include new material. Reprints and bibliography have been grouped as general, affirmative, and negative. Some reprints on federal aid to education, similarly grouped, are given in a special section. It has not been thought necessary to attempt a separate list of references to federal aid. Discussion is generally related to bills under consideration. The underlying background of the entire series of attempted legislation has been the form of organization for the representation of education in the national government, and the promotion of better educational conditions throughout the nation. A new brief is included.

JULIA E. JOHNSON

September 12, 1927

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EXPLANATORY NOTE	v
BRIEF	
Introduction	xiii
Affirmative	xiv
Negative	xxiv
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
Bibliographies	xxxv
General References	xxxvi
Affirmative References	xlix
Negative References	lxi
INTRODUCTION	lxix
GENERAL DISCUSSION	
Campbell, Prince Lucian. Proposed Federal Department of Education	1
Brief Sketch of Movement for Department of Education	7
Department of Education: Some of its Possibilities	15
.....National Education Association. Journal Learned, Henry Barrett. Educational Function of National Government	18
.....American Political Science Review	18
Sterling, Thomas. Constitutional and Political Significance of Federal Legislation on Education..	34
.....New Age	34
Bromage, Arthur W. Waking up to Illiteracy	44
.....Journal of Education	44

	PAGE
McKenney, Charles. Illiteracy Program	
..... School and Society	48
Thwing, Charles Franklin. Rising Cost of Amer- ican Education	Current History
	54
Hunter, Fred M. Education as a National Issue	New Age
	64
Russell, William F. Who Shall Mould the Mind of America	School and Society
	69
Smith, Henry Lester. Need for Research in Edu- cation	
..National Education Association. Proceedings	78
Coolidge, Calvin. New Importance Attaching to Cause of Education	
..National Education Association. Proceedings	86
Judd, Charles H. National Problems in Education	Educational Record
	92
Secretary of Education	Nation
	99
Moore, Ernest Carroll. Educational Reconstruc- tion	International Journal of Ethics
	100
Provisions of the Curtis-Reed Bill	101
AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION	
Rogers, Elmer E. Reed-Curtis Bill	New Age
	105
Judd, Charles H. Meaning of the Education Bill	Journal of Education
	108
Capen, Samuel P. Wanted: an Active Coordin- ated Government Bureau of Education	
.....Annals of the American Academy	113
Rogers, Elmer E. Reed-Curtis Bill	New Age
	119
Kach, Paul R. Opposition to Curtis-Reed Bill	New Age
	124
Mann, Charles R. Federal Department of Educa- tion	New Age Magazine
	127
Willoughby, William F. Federal Department of Education and Science	Educational Record
	136

	PAGE
Why the New Education Bill Should Be Passed	138
Resolutions	177
States' Rights	New Age 182
Jones, Olive N. Need of National Organization for Educational Service ..	Educational Review 184
Cowles, John H. Exclusive Department Desirable	New Age 191
Witcover, H. W. Contributes to Advancement and Progress	New Age 193
McCracken, John H. Department of Education	School and Society 194

NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

Borah, William E. Education Control	
..... Congressional Record	197
Blakely, Paul L. Curtis-Reed Bill: Disguised Federal Control	200
Blakely, Paul L. Phipps Bill	205
Hoover, Herbert. Our Laboratories in Government	High School Quarterly 214
Butler, Nicholas Murray. Over-organization of Ed- ucation ..	Columbia University. Annual Report 217
Jessup, W. A. Can Effective Leadership Be Se- cured Through a Secretary	
..... Educational Record	221
To Create a Department of Education	225
O'Connell, William Cardinal. Reasonable Limits of State Activity	
..... Catholic Educational Review	236
Burris, W. P. Federal Department of Education	Elementary School Journal 243
Kinley, David. Relation of State and Nation	
..... Illinois University. Bulletin	248
Mann, Charles Riborg. Federal Organization for Education	Educational Review 251

	PAGE
Fitzpatrick, Edward A. Federalization and State Educational Bankruptcy .. Educational Review	253
Hill, John Phillip. Proposed Department of Education	Congressional Record 256
Ryan, James H. Dangers of Federalized Education	Current History 259
Goodnow, Frank J. Proposed Department of Education	269
Guthrie, William D. Federal Government and Education	Constitutional Review 273
Penrose, Stephen B. L. Department of Education	275
Machen, J. Gresham. Standardization of Education	277
Cadwalader, Thomas F. Influence of Department	280
Dolle, Charles F. Reasons Against Legislation ..	282
Borchardt, Selma. Federal Conference on Education	285
Knight, Mrs. Rufus W. Objections to Bill	287
Hadley, Arthur T. Educational Supervision Educational Record 288
Brief Excerpts	289

FEDERAL AID TO LEGISLATION

Capen, Samuel P. Recent Federal Legislation on Education	Educational Record 291
Rogers, Elmer E. Historical Precedents New Age 301
Macdonald, Austin F. Federal Subsidies for Education	Annals of the American Academy 303
Free, Arthur M. Provisions of the Proposed Towner-Sterling Bill ...	Congressional Record 309
Towner, Horace M. Federal Aid to Education, Its Justification, Degree and Method	Builder 310
Education's Fight for RecognitionNational Education Association. Journal 326

	PAGE
Wadsworth, James W. Let's stop this "Fifty-Fifty" Business	Nation's Business 334
Pritchett, Henry S. Teachers Bonus Bill	New York Times 340
Inglis, Alexander. Federal Subsidies for Education	Educational Record 347

BRIEF

RESOLVED: *That Congress should enact a law establishing a Federal Department of Education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet.*

INTRODUCTION

- I. The intended measure proposes
 - A. To establish a Department of Education of equal status with other federal departments, such as the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.
 1. This department would take over the work of the present Bureau of Education and also such other existing educational functions of the national government as may seem advisable, as, for example, the Federal Board of Vocational Education.
 2. The head of the proposed department would have the same official standing as other Cabinet members.
 3. The primary function of the department would be research, fact-finding, and the dissemination of information along educational lines.
 - B. It does not propose to establish monetary aid, or the control of education in the states.
- II. The question is important.
 - A. It has been discussed and advocated for over half a century.
 1. Special pressure has been exerted for such a measure since 1918.

- a. Numerous bills have been introduced into Congress.
- b. It is strongly urged by educators.
- B. Education is a subject of foremost concern.

AFFIRMATIVE

- I. There is serious need of the proposed Department of Education.
 - A. We have grave problems of illiteracy and other educational shortcomings.
 - 1. Our illiteracy is larger than it should be.
 - a. Our rank is tenth among the leading nations of today.
 - (1) According to the 1920 census we had an illiteracy of 6 per cent, or approximately five million.
 - (a) This estimate is not based on accurate statistics, and is probably much more.
 - (2) The percentage of illiteracy in France was 4.0; in England 1.8.
 - b. In the draft test an illiteracy of 24.9 per cent was found.
 - c. There has been a decrease of but 1 per cent in our illiteracy statistics in ten years.
 - d. Illiteracy is an enormous social waste and a grave danger to our national welfare.
 - (1) Franklin K. Lane has estimated that illiteracy is costing the nation \$825,000,000 annually.
 - (2) It is a political menace.
 - (a) In 1920 4,333,111 of our illiterates were 21 years or over, potential or active voters.

2. We have a large problem of adult education, Americanization, and education in the interest of physical fitness.
 3. There is much inadequacy in educational facilities and opportunities.
 - a. Unequal opportunities exist in rural districts.
 - b. Some states are backward in educational support and progress.
 - c. Many schools are overcrowded.
 - d. Compulsory education laws are in many places unenforced with the result that many children are denied their educational rights.
 4. There is immense waste in education.
 - a. Lack of knowledge of most efficient methods of teaching and courses of study results in
 - (1) Failures and repeaters.
 - (2) Education ill adapted to the most efficient living.
 - b. Lack of knowledge of the most efficient business methods results in wasteful administration, financing, etc.
 - c. Knowledge is needed of the best types of school buildings, equipment, text books.
 - d. In view of the rapid development of education it is all the more desirable to conserve the costs by wise expenditures and not to increase taxation unduly.
- B. There is need of representing education in the national government by a Department of Education.

1. In the interest of the better coordination of the educational functions of the national government.
 - a. Its educational activities are scattered.
 - (1) They are represented in a number of departments and offices of the national government.
 - (a) At the time of the war there were 40 different federal offices with educational functions.
 - b. There is no relation between these educational activities and no knowledge of what the others are doing.
 - (1) There is consequently much waste, duplication of effort, and inefficiency.
2. Education should be represented in a Department of Education in the interest of its dignity and prestige.
 - a. It is a subject of major importance and as such entitled to recognition.
 - (1) It is as important as agriculture, commerce, and labor.
 - b. We are the only government lacking a ministry of education.
 - c. International development of education requires a federal department.
3. Education should be represented because it is a national problem.
 - a. It is a concern of the whole nation.
 - (1) The nation is a homogeneous whole.
 - (a) What affects one part affects another.
 - (b) There are no state lines

- to confine illiteracy to the state in which it originates.
- b. It is the duty of the whole nation to cooperate in stamping out illiteracy.
 - (1) The well-being of the whole nation is paramount to the interests of the separate states.
- 4. We need facilities for better research into educational facts.
 - a. We have no adequate facilities for getting great problems studied.
 - (1) There is no place educators can go to obtain important studies.
 - (2) Many of the important educational problems have been studied under grants from private foundations.
 - (3) Studies are too expensive for states and communities.
 - (a) If undertaken on an adequate scale they cost thousands of dollars.
 - (b) There is enormous duplication.
 - (c) Research is a continuous process.
 - b. Studies are needed on a national scale.
 - (1) Sound conclusions can be drawn only from studies on a large scale.
 - (2) Studies of single communities or localities are of limited value elsewhere.
 - c. A science of education is being developed.

- (1) New ideals are taking the place of traditional standards.
 - (2) Facts are more and more coming to control education.
 - (3) Educational questions are becoming more difficult, intricate, and exacting.
 5. Dissemination of educational information is a national problem.
 - a. Under present conditions there is no systematic dissemination of information resulting from local studies and experiments.
 - (1) It is no concern of the state or community to send its studies elsewhere.
 - (2) Franklin K. Lane has said that under present conditions it takes about twenty years for an idea to travel over the entire country.
 - b. Studies of value to the country as a whole should reach all centers.
 - (1) The centers and persons least likely to get needed information under the present conditions are the ones that need it most.
- II. The proposed adoption of a Department of Education with a secretary in the Cabinet would be desirable in every way.
 - A. It would be a sound and desirable federal policy.
 1. It is constitutional.
 - a. The national government has the constitutional power to promote the general welfare.

- b. It does not attempt in any way to interfere with state rights.
 - (1) It is purely advisory.
 - (2) It in no way implies control of education or the alteration of the present authority of state and community in educational affairs.
- 2. It is in line with our traditional development.
 - a. The federal government has always interested itself in education.
 - (1) It has given land grants and aid in special forms, such as to agricultural and vocational education.
 - (2) It has many educational functions of its own.
- B. A Department of Education with such co-ordination of educational functions as may be practicable would effectively promote education throughout the nation and be otherwise desirable.
 - 1. It would provide a clearing house for educational matters.
 - a. Place at the disposal of the entire nation the statistics, information, results of experiments and studies in every part of the country and abroad.
 - 2. It would provide permanent facilities for study.
 - a. An expert personnel.
 - b. It would be able to undertake studies promptly.
 - 3. It would promote efficiency.
 - a. It would provide more effective use

- of the plant, libraries, and all other facilities.
- b. It would reduce overhead.
- c. It would make possible the better planning of work and studies.
- 4. Interdepartmental conferences could secure cooperation with other offices having educational functions.
- 5. The proposed department would be reasonably economical.
 - a. As compared to the importance of education and to other expenditures of the government, its cost would not be excessive.
 - b. It would save enormous sums throughout the nation.
 - (1) It has been estimated that enormous losses accrue annually through illiteracy and its results.
- C. It would be an advantage in our educational policies to have a secretary in the Cabinet.
 - 1. He would give national leadership to education.
 - a. His Cabinet position would give him influence.
 - (1) His standing with the President and other members of the government would carry weight.
 - b. As head of a department he would be able more readily to carry out his policies.
 - (1) He would have more direct access to the director of the budget and more standing with Congress.
 - c. He would more readily gain the ear of the nation.

- D. Objections to the proposed change are overdrawn and not valid.
1. It would not lead to ultimate control of education by the federal government.
 - a. No interference with educational institutions is contemplated.
 - b. It would be impossible to control education even if it should be tried.
 - (1) Prussianism is not consistent with our form of government with its many checks and balances.
 - (2) No permanent policy could be fastened on the country.
 - (a) Changes of office are frequent.
 - (2) It would be impossible to control the minds of the people.
 - (a) Education is far broader than the schools: newspapers, moving pictures, the radio, and many other agencies are also educational.
 2. The question of monetary aid to education is not involved.
 - a. It is an entirely separate question.
 - (1) If the country wants it later it can be studied on its own merits.
 - b. Monetary aid does not necessarily mean control.
 3. A secretary of education is not likely to become a political tool.
 - a. There is no more danger of this in education than in any other department of the government.
 - b. The President is hardly likely to ap-

point to this position any but a person of outstanding capacity.

4. Political changes in the office of secretary of education would not necessarily disorganize national educational policies.
 - a. The permanent office staff would form a stabilizing element.
5. It would not standardize education.
 - a. Each community would be free to adapt facts to its own needs or to reject them.

III. The proposed Department of Education would be the best means of meeting our educational needs and of promoting the advancement of education.

A. The present Bureau of Education cannot meet the need.

1. It is too small.
2. If enlarged, it would still be less adequate than a department.
 - a. The difficulty of obtaining adequate funds would still exist.
 - (1) The commissioner could not ask for funds.
 - (2) Educators could not go to Congress to ask funds for specific purposes.
 - (a) It would be too expensive.
 - (3) It must share, with other interests, in the funds allotted to the department to which it belongs.
 - b. As a subordinate bureau it would still be restricted in initiative and policy.
 - (1) The chief of department over it has too many other important

responsibilities to give it the attention it demands.

- c. The requisite coordination could not be accomplished.
 - d. The especial values and importance of a department would still be wanting in a bureau.
- B. No alternative form of organization would be desirable.
1. A Department of Welfare, or other department to include education, would not be desirable.
 - a. Education should not be combined with some other function.
 - (1) It is of sufficient importance in itself to merit its being the sole interest in a department.
 2. A federal board or commission would be less desirable than the proposed department.
 - a. It would be less efficient.
 - b. It would be more expensive.
 - c. It would give education a less prominent position.
 - d. It would not be free from politics.
 - (1) It would be appointive.
 - e. We have too many commissions already at Washington.
 - (1) We have over twenty-five commissions costing about \$650,000,000 a year.
- C. Experience indicates the probable development and value of the work of a Department of Education.
1. The Department of Agriculture has ac-

complished work of immense value to the cause of agriculture.

- a. This is a service essentially the same as is proposed for education, of research and the dissemination of information.
 - b. It has not led to abuses, such as federal control or interference with the greatest possible local freedom and initiative.
2. The Bureau of Education has performed work of immense service to American education, so far as its limitations have permitted.
- a. It is only proposed to broaden and enlarge the scope of this work.
- D. There is room for the concomitant efforts of state, nation, and all other educational agencies in the solution of educational problems and the promotion of educational progress.

NEGATIVE

- I. No reasonable need exists for the proposed Department of Education and secretary in the Cabinet.
- A. Educational conditions are satisfactory and are constantly improving.
- 1. The seriousness of illiteracy has been over-rated.
 - a. The percentage of illiteracy has been steadily decreasing in past decades.
 - (1) It was 10 per cent in 1900, 7 per cent in 1910, and only 6 per cent in 1920.
 - b. Only 2.3 per cent of the children between the ages of 10 and 15 were shown as illiterate in the census.

- c. Much of our remaining illiteracy has been due to causes in the past which are no longer operative to the same extent.
 - (1) The admission of illiterates from abroad is now greatly restricted.
 - (2) Schools in rural sections have been improved and many are being consolidated.
 - (3) Better facilities now exist for negro education.
 - (4) More and better educational advantages exist for adults.
- d. The draft tests were not sufficiently uniform to warrant definite conclusions.
- 2. Enormous progress has been and is being made.
 - a. Much progressive legislation has been enacted since the war.
 - b. Compulsory education laws are being more strictly enforced.
 - c. Thousands of new schools are being built.
 - (1) They are reaching a larger proportion of children.
 - d. Appropriations are being increased annually.
 - (1) Between 1920 and 1922 the increase was more than 50 per cent.
- B. The present Bureau of Education is capable of performing all the educational functions of the proposed department.
 - 1. It can be enlarged to handle all required functions.

2. Research can be as well developed by it as by a department, if given sufficient funds.
 3. Coordination of existing educational functions in the national government does not necessarily require a department.
 - a. Vocational education, or other existing educational agencies, can be attached to the bureau, if desired.
 4. There is nothing to show that special benefit would result from change to a department.
 - a. That efficiency under a department would be greater than under the bureau.
 - b. That a department would do more than the bureau does or could do if enlarged.
 - c. That special education would benefit by the transfer.
- C. There is no need for a secretary of education with a Cabinet post.
1. The commissioner of education has practically all the power proposed to be given to the secretary.
 2. We have no need of a so-called "minister of education" such as other countries have.
 - a. We have forty-eight "ministers of education."
 - b. Our educational system is non-centralized, while European countries have greatly centralized systems.
 3. Leadership is more a question of ideals than of official position.
 - a. Position alone will not create leadership.

- b. A person of intensive leadership will get the ear of the public in the Cabinet or without.
 - D. There is no other reason for the proposed change.
 - 1. There is no considerable public demand.
 - a. Much of the demand is propaganda from educational sources.
 - b. There is no reasonable need for giving education the same representation in the national government as held by agriculture, commerce, and labor.
 - (1) They represent more clearly defined interests.
 - (a) Education is, and should be, subject to constant experimentation and change.
 - (2) They represent an economic class.
 - 2. It is doubtful if a department would bring better schools or reduce illiteracy more effectively than is being done.
- II. The proposed reorganization of education would be undesirable in every way.
 - A. It would be an entering wedge leading to federal control of the schools.
 - 1. It would lead inevitably to federal aid to the schools.
 - a. This issue, although not now stressed, is only postponed.
 - (1) The advocates of both are, to a large extent, the same.
 - b. Federal aid would inevitably mean federal control.
 - (1) The states would have to com-

ply with definite requirements to obtain it.

2. It would lead to other legislative measures in education by Congress.
 3. It is the history of federal agencies that they ultimately dominate the states.
- B. The centralization resulting from a strong federal department governing educational affairs would be highly undesirable.
1. It would tend to establish Prussianism in education.
 - a. It would lead to control of the ideas and ideals of the younger generation.
 - (1) This would be a highly dangerous influence.
 2. It would be an unwarranted violation of the rights of the states.
 - a. The power is nowhere given to the federal government to direct or control education.
 - (1) The Constitution nowhere mentions education.
 - b. Our historic policy has always been to leave education to the control of the states.
 - c. The federal principle of state and nation, each supreme in its own sphere, is necessary for the perpetuity of our system of government.
 3. It would be subversive of local responsibility.
 - a. It would tend to paralyze local freedom, initiative, and interest.
 - b. It would trespass upon the rights and liberties of citizens.
 - (1) The right of the parent to control the education of his chil-

dren should belong to the parent.

4. It would tend to standardize education.
 - a. National standards would lead to national courses of study.
 - b. Rigid national standards would be unadaptable to local needs and conditions.
 5. It would be a danger to private and religious schools.
 - a. They would tend to come under the control of the government.
- C. A secretary in the President's Cabinet would be undesirable.
1. Education would be thrown into politics.
 - a. A Cabinet officer would be appointed by the President from the party in power.
 - (1) His character and term of office would be subject to the President's wishes.
 - b. He would be liable to use his office for political purposes.
 - (1) Instances are numerous of such use of office in the Cabinet.
 - c. A Cabinet officer would be subject to bitter partizan criticism and legislative interference.
 - d. It is desirable to have as little politics in education as possible.
 2. A secretary in the Cabinet would lead to constant change of office and of educational policies.
 - a. The average term of office in the Cabinet is too short.
 - (1) . It has been found that the average term for the fifteen adminis-

trations from 1861 to 1921 was two and two-thirds years.

- (2) The constant change would detract from the efficiency of the department and lead to repudiation of programs.
- b. The term of the commissioner of education is reasonably permanent.
 - (1) There have been but six commissioners of education since the Bureau of Education was established.
3. The supply of educational statesmen of the required capacity is too short for the short term and the bitter criticism the position would involve.
4. We should not increase the size of the Cabinet.
- D. The proposed department would be a needless and unwarranted expense to the government and the taxpayers.
 1. Any appropriation called for would be merely an initial appropriation.
 - a. Pressure would be brought to bear upon succeeding Congresses for increased appropriations.
 - (1) This is the inevitable history of government bureaus.
 - (2) The Children's Bureau is an example of such growth, its appropriations being increased from \$26,400 in 1913 to \$518,160 in 1919.
 2. An unnecessary and unjustifiable increase in expense would result from the establishing of a heavy organization without adequate call for it.

- a. There would be an increase in the number of office holders.
- b. There would be an increase in overhead expense.
3. It would be more economical to increase appropriations for our present bureau.

III. Education can be adequately promoted without so fundamental a change as the one proposed.

A. Development along the established line of state and local effort is better.

1. We already have the organization for this.
 - a. It is better to improve this educational organization to the greatest extent possible than to establish any new machinery.
 - (1) If once established it could not be readily changed.
2. We can make needed improvements to promote sounder organization, higher standards, and better enforcement.
3. States backward in the support of education can readily increase their financial support without prompting from the federal government.
 - a. In many cases inadequate support of schools is due to the need of better systems of taxation.
4. The present system gives the utmost freedom of initiative.
 - a. It allows experimentation with all its benefits.
 - (1) If mistakes are made their bad effects are limited and they are readily corrected.
 - b. It has given us some of the best schools in the world.

5. The present system is more intimately in contact with the needs and ideals of localities.
 - a. It preserves local interest, responsibility, and enthusiasm.
 - b. Standardization imposed by a central government would be wholly unadaptable to its conditions and welfare.
- B. If we must have any further federal agency to care for educational problems it would be preferable to consider some other form of organization.
 1. A federal board or commission on education might be set up.
 - a. In this there would be less danger of political control.
 - b. It would have more continuity.
 - c. It could be composed of men well-qualified educationally and have geographical representation.
 - d. It could perform any needed work, authorize studies, surveys, investigate problems, promote standards of research, etc.
 2. A new department could be set up based on more general interest than education alone, such as a Department of Public Welfare, or a Department of Education and Relief.
 - a. There have been demands for such a department.
 - b. Social welfare, public health, etc. merit representation in the national government as much as education.
 - (1) The probability is that they will, in the end, have to be included in a department also, if we en-

courage the tendency toward the formation of new departments.

- c. In such a department criticism would have less force than in a department given exclusively to educational interests.
- C. Interdepartmental conferences, to secure better cooperation among federal educational agencies, can be had without the necessity of establishing a Department of Education.

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INTRODUCTION

A movement held by many to be of the foremost importance to the cause of education throughout the country is the effort made in recent years to reorganize and enlarge the representation of education in the national government by providing for its inclusion in a national Department of Education instead of, as at present, a bureau. The immediate impulse of this movement may be considered an outcome of the tests imposed upon our social structures during and directly following the period of our participation in the war. The searchlight was played then, as never before, upon certain results of our educational system; failures, weaknesses, inadequacies, and deleterious trends were discovered and discussed; we were shaken out of decades of complacency; and from the discussion there arose, at the same time, a vision of new heights to be scaled in an educational way and of what such scaling might contribute to future social progress.

Although definitely taking shape in 1918, the present impulse for a Department of Education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet is by no means a new movement. The approximate middle of the nineteenth century saw a similar demand leading to the establishment of a short-lived Department of Education in 1867, to be reduced in 1869 to our present Bureau of Education. This culmination left the way open for recurrent, although small, proposals to reestablish a department, lasting to the present revival.

The defects in our educational system became apparent first through the report on the draft, and shortly after through the statistics of the 1920 census, the resulting

studies in educational and other circles, and nation-wide discussion. With a definite realization of the extent of our illiteracy, by far more serious than we had supposed, we became aware, also, of a series of subsidiary problems seriously affecting our national efficiency, prominent among which were the large extent of preventable physical defects, the need of better assimilation of aliens, the problem of adult education, inequalities in educational opportunities, and inadequate preparation of teachers.

It was felt that education in the United States was failing to reach many of the problems coextensive with a national field, problems incident to many or all communities, requiring breadth of study, extensive research, synthetic findings; problems requiring scientific determination, expert service, leadership and cooperation, and finally the effective dissemination of facts for the common benefit of all. The Bureau of Education, in spite of invaluable services, was held to be too limited in power and financial support to be capable of giving the full extent of the needed inspiration to educational problems that was called for.

The first solution sought for educational deficiencies was legislation combining a Department of Education and secretary in the Cabinet with the principle of federal monetary aid to the states to encourage and assist them in the correction of their educational defects. Legislation based on this principle of federal aid had been previously adopted toward agricultural and vocational education. It had been urged over a quarter of a century before in general education when in 1883 Senator Henry W. Blair had proposed that \$77,000,000 be assigned for distribution to the states in proportion to their illiteracy. After being passed by the Senate in 1884, 1886, and 1888, his measure was finally lost. The series of bills before Congress supported by the National Education Association, known variously as the Smith, the Smith-Towner, the Towner-Sterling, and the Sterling-Reed bills from

their sponsors, bore the two primary provisions of a department and federal aid. They proposed an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be distributed to the states. Not a little of the discussion and criticism of these bills from 1918 through 1925 was directed against the feature of federal aid.

Various revisions were made in the educational bills of the National Education Association from time to time, and finally the provision for aid was withdrawn. In December, 1925, the Curtis-Reed Bill, S. 291 and H.R. 5000, was introduced by Senator Charles Curtis and Representative Daniel Alden Reed, with no provision for monetary help, but based on a department, a secretary, and large functions of research. This bill was before Congress to the end of 69th Congress, and will be reintroduced in the coming Congress. The provisions of this bill are the nucleus of the present interest, agitation and discussion for the reorganization of education in the national government.

Besides the bills introduced through the efforts of the National Education Association, there have been various other bills in Congress both along similar lines and suggesting alternate lines of reorganization or improvement. Among the latter have been the prominent administration bill for a Department of Public Welfare to include public health, social service, veteran relief, and education. There have also been proposed a department of education and human welfare, a department of education and science, and the enlargement of the Bureau of Education without any change in its essential nature.

Aside from the many purely educational problems and interests involved in the discussion of the proposals for the reorganization of education, two opposing lines of thought are represented which concern our fundamental political structure, views that have been bitterly fought in connection with many prominent questions of social and political reform that touch upon the national powers;

the two views of a more effective nationalism to meet the demands of ever-changing social and political conditions, and of the inviolable sanctity of the rights of the states. It is this question that was evoked in the child labor and prohibition issues, in the proposal for uniform laws of marriage and divorce, and many others. The critics of education in the national government point, also, to the insidious dangers of a developing bureaucracy and of educational standardization.

JULIA E. JOHNSON

September 26, 1927

GENERAL DISCUSSION

PROPOSED FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ¹

In less than a year after America had entered the war, our high schools, colleges and universities found themselves threatened with the same destruction which had befallen education of like grades in England, France and Germany. The urgent warning had come to us from these distracted countries to guard in every way against the breakdown in our educational institutions, but the way had not been found. With high-hearted loyalty, and grim determination to bear their part without delay in the fighting at the front, the boys and young men from the high schools and colleges were deaf to all arguments for delay to secure preparation, and thronged by the tens of thousands to the recruiting stations begging for a chance to get across to the front. By January of 1918, from forty to sixty per cent of the men in the higher educational institutions were gone, and the able-bodied remainder were on the point of going. And yet the Government was imploring the young men to stay in school to prepare themselves to meet the impending need of the army for trained men, to keep up the supply for future months and years.

Early in January a group of educational men representing various national educational associations responded to a hurried call which had been sent out for a conference to be held in Chicago at the same time that the annual meeting of the Association of American Col-

¹ By Prince Lucian Campbell, president, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. *National Association of State Universities in the United States of America. Transactions and Proceedings.* Vol. 16, 1918. p.162-8.

leges was being held in that city. The situation was found to call for immediate and decisive action by some central authoritative agency clothed with adequate power to meet the emergency and accost the impending calamity to American education. But no such agency existed. The Bureau of Education had neither authority nor resources. By concurring resolution of the Association of American Colleges and of the members of the other national associations represented, a declaration was made in favor of an educational administrator, clothed with powers similar to those given to the food and fuel administrators, and a committee was sent in to Washington to attempt to secure the appointment by the President of such an official. After consultation at Washington, the plan was changed to the organization of an Emergency Council on Education composed of representatives of practically all the great educational associations, a Committee on Education of the War Department was secured, and the energies of the educational forces were turned in the direction of bringing about the creation of a Federal Department of Education, to replace the Bureau, with a secretary who should be a member of the President's cabinet. The idea was not a new one, but it had not been actively pressed since it had met with defeat in Congress just after the Civil War, the Bureau having been established instead of the Department. Some interest in a Department of Education had been shown in recent years by the National Education Association and a bill had been introduced in Congress by Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, in April of 1917, but after being referred to the Committee on Education in the Senate, the bill was practically forgotten.

One of the first steps of the Emergency Council on Education was to consult with Senator Owen and also Senator Hoke Smith, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, both of whom promised support if the educational forces of the country would get back of the bill and help put it through. A committee of the Emer-

gency Council on Education was at once appointed, consisting of President Judson, of Chicago University, President Macracken, of Lafayette College, and the writer. The committee at once began work on the preparation of a bill. A few weeks later, when the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association met at Atlantic City, a Committee on the National Emergency in Education was appointed which merged with a Committee of the National Education Association already appointed under the title of the Joint Commission on the National Emergency in Education, and this commission also at once began work on a bill for the Department of Education. The committees of the Emergency Council and of the National Education Association met jointly for the discussion and the formulation of the bill. Substantial agreement resulted as to the main features of the bill, with the exception of the feature of appropriation. The Commission of the National Education Association wished immediately appropriations for specific educational purposes amounting to one hundred million dollars annually, whereas the Committee of the Emergency Council preferred to secure the establishment of the Department, with only an annual appropriation of \$500,000 to meet departmental expenses.

By agreement, it was decided to leave with Senator Hoke Smith, who was willing to introduce the new bill in the Senate, the choice of form of bill to be introduced, and Senator Smith, after mature consideration, decided in favor of the bill carrying the larger appropriations. If the appropriations cannot be carried, there is still a chance for the rest of the bill, creating the department.

The following are some of the considerations which have led the Emergency Council, now the American Council on Education, and the Joint Commission of the National Education Association to favor the creation of a Department of Education, with a secretary having a seat in the President's cabinet:

First: It seems highly desirable that education should be given the position of dignity in the governmental organization which its importance as the chief safeguard of a democracy demands. The war has taught us how greatly all are dependent on education in time of war as well as in time of peace. We turn to education now as our chief reliance for safety in the strenuous years of reconstruction which are to follow the multitudinous disorganizations which the war has forced upon us. If democracy is to make progress in a safe and sane evolution, not only with us but with the whole world, it will be due to the high lead of intelligence and character of the people who constitute these democracies. Education is the very first corollary of democracy and as such should be given the governmental recognition which its high function demands. Since we have no state religion the spiritual forces of the nation can only find their recognition in the dignity which is accorded education by the National Government. Along with the Secretaries of War, of Commerce, of Agriculture, there should be amongst the President's immediate and official advisers, a secretary of education representing the great constructive ideals and spiritual forces of the nation. The mere recognition will orient us aright by giving conscious recognition to education as one of the supreme interests of the republic.

Second: The war has placed us in a commanding position of influence amongst the nations of the world. In matters of education, we shall be called upon to establish international relationships of first importance. We shall be in position to influence profoundly the developing systems of Russia, of South America, of the Orient. We shall establish more intimate educational affiliations with England and France and Italy. Already standardization of degrees and exchanges of students and professors are being discussed, with every prospect of the early realization of plans already under consideration.

But in all these matters, we need to act in a federal

capacity, and through a dignified and adequate organization. It is the work of a department, and not that of a subordinate bureau in a department chiefly concerned with other things. The nations with which we shall be principally dealing have ministries of education, and it is incongruous for a great democracy to treat with them through a governmental agency of inferior rank. Our position will be misunderstood and our influence lessened if we do not enable our representatives to meet them on equal grounds.

Third: There is great need of coordinating and systematizing the work of an educational nature already undertaken by many, if not all of the governmental departments. War, navy, commerce, labor, agriculture, civil service commission and various other agencies of the government are all busily engaged in some highly organized educational activity, involving the expenditure of above a hundred and thirty millions of dollars last year. Of this vast sum, the Bureau of Education had only about one hundred and seventy thousand directly available for its own uses. And these appropriations promise to increase rapidly, without system and without centralized responsibility. Much duplication of work inevitably results, and much waste and extravagance are possible through lack of any centralized attempt at a well organized scientific budget for education. It is no longer a question as to whether the Federal Government should enter in the field of education as affecting the states. The government has long ago entered, and with appropriations of imposing magnitude. The only question remaining is that of establishing system in the government's efforts and fixing responsibility through centralized organization.

Fourth: The nation is evidently facing an era in which education must play a larger part than ever before. All parties are demanding it—the conservatives as a safeguard against the revolutionary effects of ultra-radicalism, and the radicals as a means of enabling the

laboring classes to make good in their larger participation in the direction and control of governmental affairs. The time is ripe for such an expansion of educational activities, reaching all classes and all ages, as the world has never before known. But there is need of the sanest plans and the wisest guidance. We must learn from the world as well as teach the world. All the best that other countries have developed educationally must be studied and adapted to our own needs. Educational attaches, reporting to a federal department of education, must accompany our military and commercial attaches to the courts of foreign countries. We must know what the world is doing, and we must have adequate governmental organization to enable us to utilize the knowledge to the very best advantage in meeting our own needs.

In addition, all must have the permanent means of placing at the service of the government the same kind of expert advice and skilled service which has proven the salvation of the situation in meeting the emergency demands made on us by the exigencies of the war. The pick of the scholars and technical experts of the country have been assembled at Washington, rendering service of incalculable value. Under the direction of a department of education, a great super-graduate school can be maintained at the capital, manned by the best that the Nation possesses and serving to provide for a democracy, that which it has been claimed a democracy must always be without—the guidance of experts in the formulation of governmental policies and the direction of governmental activities. With such assistance, not only can the material interests of the country be immeasurably served, but its spiritual interest strengthened and enlarged so that we may add to our prosperity the crowning glories of a great art, a great literature, a great national music.

The one argument against a federal department of education which immediately arises in the minds of all Americans trained in the doctrine of local self-government, is found in the fancied danger of Prussianizing

our system of education by interfering unduly in the autonomy of the states in educational matters. But it is obvious that any such danger can easily be guarded against in the formulation of the bill creating the department. Its actual mandatory powers need not be greater than those of the existing bureau, which are in effect none. In addition, it will always be responsible to the people as a whole as a part of the President's administration, and subject to revision of policy every four years, if need be. If there is great federal work for such a department to do it would be unworthy of our confidence in our strength and ability to refuse to avail ourselves of the benefit of such work through fear that we could not ultimately control an organization of our own making.

But as a matter of fact, the argument based on unwillingness to have the Federal Government enter on the field of national educational activities is now purely academic, since the government is already engaged in large ways and with heavy appropriations in just this field.

It is only a question now of the best form of organization. As has been stated above, practically every department of the government, and several independent commissions besides, are actively engaged in educational work; under no central supervision and with resulting duplication of work and extravagance of expenditure. A well organized department, under a responsible secretary, is obviously the remedy for the present disorganized and possibly hazardous condition of national educational affairs.

BRIEF SKETCH OF MOVEMENT FOR DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION²

Early History of the Movement. The agitation for the establishment in the federal government of some

² Adapted, with new material, from *Brief Sketch of the Movement for a Department of Education*. 5p. mim. National Education Association, Washington, D.C. 1926(?)

agency to collect and disseminate educational facts and statistics was begun in 1838 by Henry Barnard of Connecticut. This agitation kept up during the succeeding years till 1854 when a plan for the establishment of a Department of Education was formulated and presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Education. The terms of this plan were substantially those of the act which later created a Department of Education.

In February 1866 the National Association of School Superintendents passed a resolution appointing three members of the Association to present to Congress a memorial on the establishment of a national bureau of education. Four days later Representative James A. Garfield, Ohio, presented a bill to Congress "to establish a Department of Education." In March, 1867 this bill was signed by the President of the United States and a Department of Education came into being. The Department gave little power to the Commissioner who was head of the department though not a member of the President's Cabinet. In 1868 the Department was abolished and in 1869 the Bureau of Education was established as "Office of Education" in the Department of the Interior. At this time the salary of the Commissioner was reduced from \$4000 to \$3000.

The Goulden Bill (H.R. 12318). In February 1910 a bill was introduced by Congressman Joseph A. Goulden, New York, calling for the establishment of an executive Department of Education. A hearing was held on this bill February 2, 8, 15, and 25, 1910, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, but there is no record to show that this bill for a Department of Education was ever reported from the Committee.

The Cary Bill (H.R. 25294). This bill to create an executive department of education was introduced on May 2, 1910 by Mr. Cary, and referred to the Committee on Education.

The Abercrombie Bill (H.R. 399). To create a department of education. Introduced in the House on December 6, 1915 by Mr. Abercrombie. It was reported without amendment from the Committee on Education, but no further action was taken.

The Owen Bill (S. 18). Mr. Owen introduced a bill (S. 18) on April 4, 1917 to create a department of education. It was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The Smith Bill (S. 4987). The movement for a Department of Education began in earnest in 1918 when the National Education Association appointed a Commission on the Emergency in Education. After an exhaustive study of the educational needs of the United States a bill was drawn up which, as did subsequent bills for a Department of Education through four Congresses, embodied two great principles—the creation of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet and federal aid to the states for the promotion and encouragement of education. In October, 1918 Senator Hoke Smith, Georgia, introduced this bill, the Smith Bill (S. 4987) in the Senate of the second session of the 65th Congress. A hearing was held on this bill in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on December 5, 1918, but no action was taken.

The Baer Bill (H.R. 13709). Department of Education and Human Welfare. On January 7, 1919, Mr. Baer introduced a bill to create a department of education and human welfare, and to arrange for the cooperation between the Federal Government and the States in the encouragement and support of Education. It was referred to the Committee on Education.

The Smith-Towner Bill (S. 1017 and H.R. 7). In the third session of the 65th Congress the Smith bill was introduced by Congressman Horace Mann Towner, Iowa, in the House of Representatives (H.R. 15400).

This bill was revised and reintroduced in the 66th Congress by Senator Hoke Smith in the Senate and by Congressman Horace Mann Towner in the House of Representatives. A Joint Committee Hearing was held on this bill (Smith-Towner, S. 1017 and H.R. 7) July, 1919, and on January 17, 1921 it was favorably reported from the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives and on March 1, 1921, the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate also reported the bill but it did not come to a vote in either House.

The Towner-Sterling Bill (S. 1252 and H.R. 7). Again the bill was revised and in the special session of the 67th Congress beginning April, 1921 it was introduced by Congressman Horace Mann Towner in the House of Representatives and by Senator Thomas Sterling, South Dakota, in the Senate, and was known throughout the 67th Congress as the Towner-Sterling Bill (S. 1252 and H.R. 7). The bill during this Congress was held in the Committee on Education in both houses—the authors of the bill thought it not wise to bring the bill out of the committees until the Joint Committee of the Executive Departments of the Government made its report. This report was not made until near the close of the 67th Congress.

Owen Bill (S. 523). A bill introduced by Mr. Owen on April 12, 1921 to create a Department of Education, was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

Fess-Kenyon Bill (S. 1607 and H.R. 5837). A bill for a Department of Public Welfare. In the first session of the 67th Congress, May 5, 1921, a bill providing for a Department of Public Welfare was introduced in the Senate by Senator William S. Kenyon, Iowa, and in the House of Representatives by Mr. Simeon D. Fess, Ohio. This bill proposed to give to education a subordinate position. The bill was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate and to the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives.

Joint hearings were held on this bill before the two committees on education. The creation of such a Department was seriously opposed by the friends of the Education Bill (Towner-Sterling Bill, S. 1252 and H.R. 7) and on May 18, 1921, they appeared before the members of this Joint Committee and voiced their opposition to a Department of Public Welfare. Following this hearing no further action was taken by the committee on education of either house and all attempts to favorably report the bill providing for a Department of Welfare with education as one of its subdivisions failed.

Sterling-Reed Bill (S. 1337 and H.R. 3923). In the 68th Congress the Sterling-Reed Bill, (S. 1337 and H.R. 3923) which was identical with the Towner-Sterling Bill was introduced in both houses on December 17, 1923—in the Senate by Senator Thomas Sterling and in the House of Representatives by Congressman Daniel Alden Reed of New York.

From January 22 to 25 a hearing on the Sterling-Reed Bill was held before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Representatives of the organizations actively supporting the bill were present and in no uncertain terms voiced their whole-hearted endorsement of this measure. Representatives of the press spoke of the keen interest of the reading public in this legislation. Prominent educators came from many parts of the country and clearly presented to the Committee the technical questions of the bill. From every section of the United States telegrams containing strong statements of support of the bill came in every hour during the days of the hearings from people everywhere interested in the Sterling-Reed Bill (S. 1337 and H.R. 3923).

On November 12, 1923, representatives of the organizations supporting the Sterling-Reed Bill met and were unanimous in their protest against the creation of a Department of Education and Welfare. When on January 25 and 26 the proponents of the bill were given an opportunity to appear before the Committee on the

Reorganization of the Executive Departments of the Government they were able to file in no uncertain terms a protest against a Department of Education and Welfare which was incorporated in the plan presented by Walter F. Brown, chairman of the Committee.

From February 20 to June 4 hearings were held practically every week on the Sterling-Reed Bill before the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives. The same strong case for the bill that was presented before the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate was made before this committee. Leading educators, business men and representatives of national organizations appeared before the committee and every phase of the measure was clearly set forth.

Smoot-Mapes Bill (S. 3445 and H.R. 9629). On June 3 the Reorganization Committee reported out a bill for the Reorganization of the Executive Departments of the Government (Smoot-Mapes Bill, S. 3445 and H.R. 9629) which was placed on the calendar of both houses. This bill included a Department of Education and Relief. Congress adjourned on June 4 before action was taken on the Sterling-Reed Bill by either Committee on Education.

The Dallinger Bill (H.R. 633): for a Department of Education and Relief. Congress convened on December 1, 1924, and on December 5 Congressman Frederick W. Dallinger, Massachusetts, introduced a bill (H.R. 633) for a Department of Education and Relief which was identical with that portion of the Reorganization Bill, Smoot-Mapes (S. 3445 and H.R. 9629) providing for the creation of such a department. On December 11, this bill was discussed and voted on by the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives. The committee refused to vote the bill out favorably. They preferred to wait for action on the whole Reorganization Bill which seemed likely to be considered in the House of Representatives.

No active campaign was waged in this session of Congress for the Sterling-Reed Bill because it seemed advisable, since the Reorganization Committee had actually reported a bill which was on the calendar of both houses, to await the consideration of Congress on that measure as it provided for a Department of Education and Relief.

Friday, January 30, 1925, Senator Reed Smoot, Utah, attempted to make the Reorganization Bill the unfinished business of the Senate. His proposal was rejected by a vote of 41 to 25.

Curtis-Reed Bill (S. 291 and H.R. 5000, 69th Congress). In the spring of 1925 the supporters of the movement for a Department of Education, realizing that it would be impossible to secure the support of the administration for a bill calling for a large federal appropriation to the states for education, decided that the bill should be revised. Accordingly, plans were set on foot which resulted in a complete revision. Conference after conference was held at which notable educators and laymen gathered to discuss the revision. From these conferences there evolved the bill known as the Curtis-Reed Education Bill (S. 291 and H.R. 5000) which was introduced in the 69th Congress. This bill differed from the former bills for a Department of Education in that it omitted the federal aid feature and provided only for a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

The Curtis-Reed bill retained the sponsorship of Congressman Daniel A. Reed, New York, chairman of the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives, who introduced the bill on December 11, 1925. In the Senate the friends of the measure secured the leadership of Senator Charles Curtis, Kansas, the majority floor leader of that body, who introduced the bill on December 8, 1925.

The Tillman Bill (H.R. 4097). On December 8, 1925, Congressman Tillman of Arkansas introduced in the House of Representatives the Tillman Bill (H.R. 4097) to create a Department of Education.

Smoot-Mapes Bill (S. 1334 and H.R. 4770) : the New Reorganization Bill. The proposals of the bill introduced by the Committee on the Reorganization of the Executive Departments of the Government were not received with sufficient favor in Congress to justify pressing for their enactment into law. Accordingly on December 10, 1925, a new bill for the Reorganization of the Executive Departments of the Government (Smoot-Mapes, S. 1334 and H.R. 4770) was introduced. This bill provided for a Reorganization Board to cooperate with the President in making adjustments within existing departments. This left the field clear for an active campaign for the creation of a separate Department of Education.

The Means Bill (S. 2841). On January 28, 1926, Senator Means of Colorado introduced in the Senate a bill to create a Department of Education, which was referred to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Joint Congressional Committee Hearing on the Education Bill (Curtis-Reed). On February 24, 25 and 26, 1925, a Joint Committee hearing was held on the Curtis-Reed Bill (S. 291 and H.R. 5000). Educators from all over the United States appeared at this hearing and presented arguments for the creation of a Department of Education. Every technical question pertaining to the Curtis-Reed Bill was explained by these experts. The representatives of supporting organizations proposed that the professional people who were in Washington attending the meeting of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association which was being held at that time, be given the time which was allotted the proponents of the bill. These representatives filed

statements in the report of this hearing setting forth reasons why their organizations supported the measure.

No action was taken on the bill by the Committee on Education of either House in the long session of the 69th Congress.

The Phipps Bill (S. 3533): to enlarge the Bureau of Education. On March 11, 1926, Senator L. C. Phipps, Colorado, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor in the Senate, introduced a bill of extension of the purpose and duties of the United States Bureau of Education (S. 3533). On May 6, 1926, this bill was reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION: SOME OF ITS POSSIBILITIES³

PROVIDES FOR COORDINATION OF EXISTING EDUCATIONAL WORK OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT "AS CONGRESS MAY DETERMINE"

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION

(Placed in Department of Education by Terms of Bill.)
\$185,313 is the estimated expenditure of this Bureau of 1924. This sum is hopelessly inadequate for an agency dealing with problems confronting 700,000 teachers and school executives in the education of 22,000,000 children.

FEDERAL BOARD FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

(Would probably be placed in Department of Education by Congress.)

\$271,737 is the estimated expenditure of this board for 1924.

\$7,159,901 is the maximum annual federal appropriation provided for by the Smith-Hughes Act for the encouragement of vocational education in the States.

SUCH OTHER FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL BOARDS, BUREAUS, AND OFFICES "AS CONGRESS MAY DETERMINE."

\$41,600,000 is spent annually by the Federal Government for strictly educational work ("training in schools or the equivalent.")

³ From chart prepared by the National Education Association. *National Education Association. Journal.* 13: 308. November, 1924

\$108,000,000 spent in 1921 for vocational rehabilitation of the world war veterans did not include the above amount.

The educational work of the Federal Government is now conducted by four Federal Departments and by a number of independent boards and bureaus.

Much of this work would remain where it is now placed, but such "as Congress may determine" from time to time, would be coordinated in the Department of Education.

PROVIDES FOR COOPERATION OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE PROMOTION OF CERTAIN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL IMPORTANCE

AMERICANIZATION AND ILLITERACY

1920 Federal Census

5,000,000 illiterates in the United States.

3,000,000 native-born illiterates.

1,000,000 native-born white illiterates.

1,700,000 non-English speaking citizens.

8,000,000 of our 14,000,000 foreign-born citizens come from countries in which 25 to 80 per cent of the population is illiterate.

Army Draft.

25 out of every 100 men in the draft could not write a letter or read a newspaper in English.

HOW CAN THIS PROBLEM BE MET?

A Department of Education would discover the most effective methods of adult education and disseminate its findings among local school authorities for their use.

EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

\$100 spent yearly per pupil in attendance in 8 States.

Less than \$25 spent yearly per pupil in attendance in 7 States.

Inequalities in yearly expenditures within districts of each State

—in one state cost per child varies from \$828 to \$49.

227,570 children in 24 States live in districts that maintain school less than 80 days per year.

1,438,000 children, between the ages of 7 and 14 years did not attend school a single day between September 1, 1919 and January 1, 1920 according to the Federal Census.

The investigations of a Department of Education would show the several States how to distribute their school funds so as to equalize educational opportunity.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND HYGIENE

1,341,000 men out of 5,991,000 examined in the draft, rejected for general military service.

16 men out of 100 rejected "for military service of any kind."

Physical inefficiency is costing the Nation billions each year.

"There is experimental basis for the statement that this loss could be materially reduced and leave an economic balance in the working population alone over and above the cost of prevention of at least \$1,000,000,000 a year"—Committee appointed by Herbert Hoover.

A Department of Education would discover and disseminate for the use of local school boards, facts that should be available for their guidance in providing adequate programs of physical education and instruction in health and hygiene.

TEACHER TRAINING

Approximately 40,000 teachers last year had no training beyond elementary school graduation.

At least 54 per cent of the Nation's 700,000 teachers have less school training than normal-school graduation or its equivalent—the minimum accepted in advanced countries.

The best results cannot be expected in those schools where unskilled labor is put on a skilled job.

Federal research and encouragement would cause the States to increase the number and raise the standards of their teacher training institutions and to raise certification requirements.

SCHOOL BUILDING RESEARCH

\$2,766,000,000 is the present value of school property.

\$268,000,000 was spent in the United States in 1922 for school buildings and sites.

Money is often wasted because local school boards lack the information necessary to prevent construction of school buildings that are:

1. Inflammable and unhealthful.
2. Ill-suited to type of instruction for which they are intended.
3. Not placed with reference to future growth.
4. Situated on poorly selected sites.
5. Financed by wasteful bonding methods.

At present each individual city has to maintain an unnecessarily large staff to carry out its building program.

A Department of Education would provide facts as to the best current practices in school building construction and thus reduce local expenditures and prevent waste.

RESEARCH IN SCHOOL COST ACCOUNTING AND BUDGETING

\$1,500,000,000 is spent annually for public schools.

Much of this money is obtained by methods that are obsolete and unjust according to taxation authorities.

State school funds are often distributed to local districts in such manner that they do not accomplish the purpose for which they exist—equalization of education opportunities.

School accounting is in such a chaos that it is impossible to collect comparable statistics on school costs for the guidance of local boards.

Many boards cannot tell with accuracy how much their own schools cost.

- A Department of Education would work out and popularize standardized methods of school accounting and budgetary procedure, thereby guarding against the waste of school money.

RESEARCH WITH RESPECT TO CURRICULA AND METHODS OF TEACHING

Rapidly changing conditions make traditional courses of study inadequate.

Material that does not function in the life of the pupil makes up too large a part of each child's course of study.

Children's talents are only partly developed and their time wasted by poor methods of teaching.

Research data are needed by local school authorities in the scientific formulation of curricula.

- A Department of Education, through a division of research, could have ready for distribution on request compilations of the best current thought on education aims and objectives, minimum essentials in courses of study, and scientific methods for realizing the desired outcome in terms of habits, skills and attitudes.

EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT⁵

Education is admittedly a comprehensive and vague term. It may be used to imply all the training which life affords to any individual member of human society. In a narrower and customary sense it has reference to requirements more or less technical which a community makes of its younger members. Whether viewed in its larger or in its narrower meaning it amounts to a process through which the individual progresses toward a more or less useful place in society.

In the phrase "educational function" is included a large group of federal activities which tend directly or indirectly to influence popular intelligence and accordingly help in the establishment of public policy and law. Such activities frequently underlie legal development in

⁵ By Henry Barrett Learned. *American Political Science Review*. 15: 335-49. August, 1921.

one or another direction. They account occasionally for the creation of new laws.

Well educated as were most of the framers of the Constitution, it is a notable fact that in the long course of their debates in the Convention of 1787 they gave slight attention to the subject of education. In a few minds of that epoch there was a dim ideal of the probable future necessity of instructing the democracy. But public schools at the time were unsystematized and undeveloped. Research in its modern meaning of scientific investigation carried little if any significance. The Constitution, begotten out of a past distinctly fearful of majority rule, was silent on the subject of education, and from that day to this we have been made very familiar with the argument that education should not be considered a matter of concern to the National Government.

Lawyers seem to be agreed that such authority as Congress may assume over education must find its warrant in the "general welfare" clause, and that it rests upon these two principles of interpretation: (1) educational undertakings authorized by the Constitution must be calculated to result in benefits fairly diffused; and (2) such undertakings must be only those not within the power or the capacity of the states, of the local authorities, or of private individuals. "The primary responsibility for educational control," remarked Commissioner of Education Dr. Elmer E. Brown, in 1910, "rests with the several states." Commissioner Philander P. Claxton reiterated the same sentiment in his first annual report of the next year. Education, we are persistently told, should be allowed to remain a function of the states; otherwise, the National Government will encroach upon the states to such an extent that little in education will be left for the states to do.

It will be convenient in the first place to reflect briefly upon a few activities of the National Government before the Civil War which may be termed educational. Rather

more detailed consideration may be given to the increase of such activities during the past sixty years, from 1860 to 1920.

The years from 1789 to 1860 constitute essentially the formative period of our national development. The Civil War resulted in the establishment of a unified nation. Although in this formative period the educational function of the Government was not generally recognized, it revealed itself in a variety of ways—in activities and modes incidental to normal political and, in particular, to administrative development. That this was at that time the direct result of popular pressure I cannot discover. Furthermore, there is no clear indication that Congress was to any degree conscious of any pronounced or definite duties in the matter of caring for popular education. That was the concern of the various states. Generally speaking, the function developed in neither a logical nor a consistent fashion: it was exercised by a process of indirection.

The establishment in 1802 of a national military and engineering academy at West Point, and the choice in 1845 by the Secretary of the Navy (George Bancroft) of Annapolis as the seat of the Naval Academy, may be passed over with a bare comment: these two institutions founded by the National Government were directly in accord with the nation's duty to provide adequate educational facilities for men destined to be prepared to protect the country in case of need on land and sea. Less obvious assertions of phases of the national educational function—destined in the course of years to be highly significant—can be associated with the years 1790, 1807, 1842 and 1846, respectively. I refer to certain provisions in law which account for the beginnings of the census, the Patent-Office organization, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Naval Observatory, and the Smithsonian Institution. From these various beginnings there arose establishments related in different ways to administra-

tion. Several of the resulting organizations were destined rather than designed to afford encouragement to scientific research, and all of them were useful in the solution of problems national in their importance.

In the year 1790 were enacted the first national laws relating to the census and to the proper protection of patents—the latter subject based upon the admitted power of Congress “to promote the progress of science and useful arts.” As organizations developed for the purpose of carrying out these laws, such organizations came for the most part at the start under the general supervision of the Department of State. At a later time the census passed to the supervision of the Department of the Interior, and is today lodged in the Department of Commerce, while the Patent Office went in 1849 into the Department of the Interior, where it has ever since remained.

The census of 1790 was a bare enumeration of the population on the basis of which to regulate certain civil and political rights of the states. Its extraordinary growth over many decades could have been foreseen by no mortal eye. Its possibilities, indeed, for scientific purposes were only slowly developed, until the statistical genius of Gen. Francis A. Walker, applied to the ninth and tenth censuses in 1870 and 1880, respectively, revealed the national census as capable of becoming one of the scientific wonders of the world. As early as 1810 it took some account of manufactures; next, in 1820, attention was given to agriculture and to non-naturalized foreigners; and in 1840 many facts bearing on popular intelligence—notably on schools of high and low grades—came into the nation’s vision through the census returns. Today, with a permanent census organization first established by the law of March 6, 1902, and devised, for greater efficiency and consistency to hold over from decade to decade, the census has expanded into a periodical inventory of national resources, or—as Dr. S. N.

D. North has remarked—into “the barometer of national development in every phase and branch—in human beings first, for the quality and character of its citizenship must always remain the most important national asset.”

The Patent Office rose from small beginnings in 1790 to the status of an organized corps of experts qualified to pass upon the utility of thousands of inventions. To say that the Patent Office has not been the means of aiding education is to overlook its bearing on the progress of scientific and practical research from an early date. Taken in hand at the outset by three Cabinet officers, a comparatively slender organization developed chiefly under the auspices of the Department of State down to 1849, when by law it was transferred to the Department of the Interior. Here it has since functioned. Its vital formation really was revealed after 1802, the year in which Dr. William Thornton was assigned to the duty of supervising its growing functions. Thornton was a man highly trained for scientific pursuits in his day, having been a student at Edinburgh, London, and Paris. He bore the title of superintendent by courtesy, a title which was fixed in law after his death by a statute of April, 1830. Six years later, in July, 1836, the present office of commissioner of patents was established.

Henry L. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, first commissioner, was the second remarkable figure in the organization. Soon after 1836 he raised the bureau to a place of importance to the intelligent farmers of the entire country, for a large proportion of patents in those days involved improvements in implements of agriculture and in processes for tilling the soil. From what John Quincy Adams termed “a mere gim-crack shop” the bureau, largely through Ellsworth’s ability, attained to the position of a useful public establishment. “The Patent Office,” remarked a writer in 1846, “is now regarded as the general head and representative of the useful arts and

the industrial interests of the country." From it gradually there was developed the later Department of Agriculture of 1862.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey, today a well-known bureau in the Department of Commerce, goes back for its origin to the year 1807 and the influence in scientific directions of Thomas Jefferson. It was instituted primarily for the convenience of commerce and somewhat incidentally for the protection of life and the national defense. Its steady development in the widening of our knowledge of coast boundaries and waterways—particularly with respect to the Great Lakes and Alaskan waters—has made it of great significance as revealing in practical ways the educational function of the National Government. No less significant in the long run, but within the realm nearer pure science, was the founding in Washington in 1842 of the Naval Observatory. Aided at the time of its origin by the clear vision and persistent legislative effort of John Quincy Adams, it came into being as a result of the expanding needs of the navy depot of charts and instruments. It quickly developed functions that were directed toward determining the positions of the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars; its experts tested chronometers and helped to standardize time over the country; and very recently it has had much to do with promoting our knowledge of the new science of aeronautics. Such names as Matthew F. Maury and Simon Newcomb attest sufficiently well the bearings of the work of the Naval Observatory upon scientific discovery.

When in 1846 Congress provided for the permanent organization of the Smithsonian Institution—the outcome of a large bequest to the Government from the English chemist, James Smithson—it entered upon a design "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The scientific work of the institution, supported since its origin in large part by national appropriations, has been world-wide in its educational influence. Its publications

constitute a monument not merely to its founder but to such men in Congress as have from time to time aided in its support. They are today to be found in all well-equipped libraries.

Another matter within this period, which throws light on the relations of the National Government to a limited number of the states in respect to education, should not be overlooked—the policy of land grants first authorized by Congress in 1802, when Ohio was admitted into the Union. Although the policy was somewhat accidental in origin, it reflected an ideal as to the proper disposition of parts of the public domain which can be traced directly to the Ordinance of 1787. Briefly stated, it was a plan authorizing the reservation of the sixteenth section in every township for the support of the common schools, and of two townships of land for the purpose of endowing in the state a higher institution of learning. It had no application to any of the sixteen older states admitted prior to 1802, but the plan was thereafter taken advantage of by all the incoming states. No restrictions were placed upon the states in the matter. Indeed no provision was made by the National Government for any sort of adequate administrative machinery. The expenditure of funds derived from the sale of reserved lands was left to the disposition of the states, unsafeguarded by proper restrictions. Although somewhat casual in its origin and based upon an ill-defined ideal, the policy has been frequently referred to in later years as a precedent for one sort of national aid to education—that derived from the sale of the public lands.

Scientific research under government auspices chiefly for the solution of problems of an administrative and political sort, it will be seen, had been well established by 1860. Almost unwittingly a phase of the educational activity of the National Government has brought results in a variety of directions. Already proved to be essential to progress, such activity was to increase enormously

in the years ahead, until today one is safe in asserting that the National Government is maintaining research throughout the country to an extent not equaled elsewhere by any two governments. Millions of money are thus annually expended. Without this record our existence as in many respects the country of largest prosperity among civilized nations could not be explained, for the test of a nation's greatness lies not so much in its resources as in the proper scientific utilization of them.

By 1860 popular education, on the other hand, had drifted—usually ahead, it is true—but with results varying in accordance with state regulations and laws. From a low ebb of efficiency in 1820, Horace Mann by his genius as a thinker and organizer of popular education had built up the Massachusetts school system. He was a figure large enough in caliber to have succeeded John Quincy Adams in 1848 in the national House of Representatives; and at a later time, carrying his ideals into the Middle West, he came to be considered widely as quite the most alert-minded and influential force on popular education in the country. Dying in 1859, he left behind a younger disciple in the person of Henry Barnard of Connecticut. Today Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and William Torrey Harris can easily be ranked together as having done yeoman service in the work of establishing the widespread American conviction of the incontestable value to a democracy of popular education.

Although the entire nation was rapidly awakening by 1860 to the necessity of unification in the school systems of the different states—a point of view then appreciated by many individuals and actively promoted by means of much organized effort—the educational function of the National Government had not been directly involved in aid of popular education with a view toward the solution of some of its perplexing problems. Its educational function had been exercised heretofore in modes limited by, or incidental to, the growth of administration. To

many intelligent citizens in 1860 it seemed high time that this function should be extended in scope, deepened, and brought into direct relation to the state systems of public instruction and schools.

As we look from 1860 to the present time—across the disorders of a civil war pregnant with domestic consequences, across the following fifty years of comparative internal quiet (a period characterized by amazing industrial prosperity and by social advancement in so many ways), and onward over a second term of national strain and confusion complicated by foreign conditions during which as never before the intellectual and material resources of the whole nation were drawn upon—we may discover at least three conspicuous measures of national consequence which bear directly on our theme. These three measures, to some extent the mature expression of circumstances and tendencies not easy to trace, were all brought about by intelligently directed popular pressure. They are the so-called Morrill acts of 1862 and 1890, the act establishing in 1867 the Bureau of Education in the Interior Department, and the law of February 23, 1917, which brought into existence the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

These three measures mark what may be termed the high points in legislation illustrative of the process whereby the educational function of the general government has been extended and intensified during the past sixty years. The two Morrill acts should be considered together, for the second act was merely the amplification of a principle established by the first act of 1862. The first act applied to the states, while the second involved the territories and accordingly resulted in a measure in educational history applicable throughout the country. In line with the two Morrill acts are numerous other measures, such as the so-called Hatch Act of 1887, the Nelson amendment of 1907, and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. These were all concerned, directly or indirectly,

with colleges chiefly designed to promote agriculture and the mechanic arts—in brief, with institutions devoted to higher education. When the Federal Board for Vocational Education was established in 1917, the educational function of the Government was enlarged to the point of seeking to give aid in secondary education. The rather anomalous position occupied by the Bureau of Education since 1867 will be considered near the close of this paper.

The first Morrill Act of July 2, 1862, came into effect after many years of effort on the part of farmers grouped into local or national organizations largely for the purpose of obtaining from the National Government aid for educational and other enterprises deemed essential to rural welfare. It followed by some six weeks the law which established the Department of Agriculture—a law approved by President Lincoln on May 15, 1862. It was to apply to the states alone so soon as the various states accepted within time limits its provisions.

For every senator and representative apportioned to the several states in accordance with the figures of the census of 1860 the act granted 30,000 acres of public land. Land thus acquired could be sold, and the money derived from the sales was to be devoted to the establishment or expansion of colleges in all the states which accepted the terms of the act. State colleges supported by these means were to be designed especially to promote all branches of learning relating to agriculture and the mechanic arts. In the curriculum there was to be included a course in military tactics. No portion of the funds could be applied to the purchase, erection, or repair of buildings. The act was not of universal application, for it did not apply to the territories. The Secretary of the Interior was, it may be observed, the single national administrative official mentioned in the text of the act.

While the act expressly left to the several state legis-

latures the right to prescribe courses of study outside the range of those concerned with agricultural science and practical pursuits, it appeared to involve the National Government in educational matters in a somewhat directive fashion. Certainly it was a notably clear expression in national law of a revulsion in popular feeling against traditional or classical modes of training in higher institutions of learning. Its object was to encourage state effort in the direction of practical studies. In fact it marks the early phase of a tendency characterized today as vocational education.

The agricultural college movement developed slowly. It quickened markedly as soon as agricultural experiment stations were established, for these stations supplied trained experts and many excellent teachers. The second Morrill Act increased the annual endowments to colleges through a succession of years, prescribed somewhat more definitely the nature of the studies and enlarged the scope of the original act's provisions by extending them to the territories. Thus, through national legislation, the movement became of universal significance. By 1890 three administrative officials were in one way or another involved in the cause—the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of the Treasury.

The Vocational Education Act of 1917 was the outcome of tendencies that go back into the past for more than a generation. It went into effect shortly before the United States entered into the World War, but it was in no sense a war measure. In various ways it reflected sporadic efforts on the part of the states quite as far back as the eighties to obtain government aid for popular or secondary education. It developed directly out of the work of a presidential commission appointed in 1913 to devise a plan through which, by means of a gradual increase of national aid in the shape of money appropriations, all the states might be assisted in developing

and maintaining systems of schools designed to encourage young students in equipping themselves for practical pursuits in agriculture, trade, commerce, and home economics. The commission printed a report in 1914. With the details of the act of 1917—a long and carefully drafted measure—we need not concern ourselves. Its larger features should be noted.

1. The act creates an administrative board known as the Federal Board for Vocational Education. This board is composed of three heads of departments (the Secretaries of Agriculture, of Commerce, and of Labor), the Commissioner of Education, and three citizens chosen by the President who are known to be experts in regard to problems in the three respective fields of agriculture, manufactures, and labor—seven members in all who are bound to see that the provisions of the law are carried out.

2. The act provides for the appropriation of national funds annually over a series of years, such funds to be progressively increased by arbitrary amounts until 1926, after which they are to be indefinitely continued at a fixed figure. The appropriations thus established by the organic act are to be distributed to the states in accordance with a certain ratio for the purpose of stimulating vocational education throughout the Union. However, the act is so formulated that only on condition that the states themselves make appropriations can national funds go to them. In brief, the law was designed to allocate national aid in proportion to local aid.

3. The Federal Board works through the state boards which—for the proper administration of the act—all the states agreed to create. This feature necessarily enforces a degree of consistency in secondary school administrative machinery that has been heretofore unknown.

4. The act is based upon the usual and rather recent definition of vocational education as that form of education which has for its “controlling purpose” the giving to

persons over fourteen years of age secondary grade training definitely designed to increase their efficiency in a variety of useful employments of a non-professional kind—such employments as are associated with trade, agriculture, commerce and commercial pursuits, and callings requiring a knowledge of home economics. It marks the mode by which the National Government has been induced, at least for a period, to make its educational function to some extent potent within the field of secondary education. The appropriations are now being used in co-operation with all the states to train teachers, supervisors, and directors of vocational subjects; to the paying of salaries; and in other ways that are concerned with this reconstructive and extensive educational scheme. Inevitably the Federal Vocational Board is brought into close touch, through the various state boards, with many vital aspects of the vocational phase of the educational situation throughout the land.

How far the vocational educational plan here briefly outlined will be successful remains a problem for the future to decide. But two conclusions appear obvious: the plan has brought the National Government into a position of dominance in which it is likely to exercise directive control—something far beyond mere influence or guidance in the realm of popular education; and it has at length raised the head of the Bureau of Education outside and above the narrow and rather barren range of the small statistical office first established in 1867.

The movement for a national bureau or Department of Education can be easily traced from 1849, the year in which the Department of the Interior was established. But quite twenty years before that there were to be found a few scattered suggestions regarding the desirability of some such organized office that might look after the educational needs of the country. After 1849 the movement was merely an aspect of the awakening of a people conscious of grave local and general educational defects—de-

fects that were especially conspicuous in the southern and the newer western states. According to the returns of the census, illiteracy by 1860 was increasing rapidly. After the Civil War, in 1867, Congress was persuaded, somewhat reluctantly, to make provision for a department or—as it was promptly altered in title—a Bureau of Education. It was lodged in the Department of the Interior, where it has ever since occupied a humble place. The objects of the bureau were these: the collection and study of material bearing on the condition and progress of education, the diffusion of information thus acquired, and the promotion “otherwise” of the cause of education. The bureau was placed in the charge of a commissioner whose term of service was left undefined. From that day to this annual appropriations for this bureau, although gradually increasing, have been notoriously small.

Such influence as the Bureau of Education has exerted on popular education has depended upon the varying abilities of six commissioners enforced by insignificantly small groups of specialists in education. Besides upwards of fifty annual reports from the six successive commissioners, the bureau has assembled since 1867 a mass of more or less informative lore and educational statistics in the shape of reports, bulletins, and studies. Nevertheless, the outstanding impression left upon one willing to examine the printed results of its work is this: the Bureau of Education has been chiefly a static rather than a dynamic organization. One must ask whether it has been a center of vital importance to the teaching profession—a profession today represented by about 700,000 members whose chief business it is to aid in the work of training more than 22,000,000 American boys and girls? Has it been vitally related to other government organizations which for generations have been promoting scientific research? The agricultural college movement—essentially a phase of higher education—was

started and took shape before the Bureau of Education was established. It is true that at a later stage the Commissioner of Education was charged with the administration of the endowment fund for the support of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, and with the supervision of education in Alaska. Moreover, very recently he has gained a modicum of recognition in the administration of secondary vocational education as a member of the Federal Vocational Board.

Anyone who will today read over the six annual reports of the late secretary of the interior, Mr. Franklin K. Lane, which cover the years 1913 to 1919—commentaries on Mr. Lane's interest in the broad field of popular education—must conclude that Mr. Lane was puzzled to account for the rather anomalous administrative position occupied by the Bureau of Education as at present constituted. Impressed by the fact that this bureau is lacking in the equipment necessary to accomplish any great work for the schools, the teachers, and the children of the country, Mr. Lane was inclined to wonder if the Bureau of Education should not be abolished. There is in the course of his thought no comfort for those who wish to see established a national Department of Education in charge of a Cabinet officer. While he developed nothing in the nature of a large or constructive plan, he laid stress upon what he termed a bureau of educational methods and standards in which would be gathered the ripe fruit of all educational experiments upon which the schools of the country might draw—a sort of national clearing-house in educational affairs. Perhaps his most striking conclusion, however, amounted to the formulation of a theory of the place of the National Government in education—a theory which, whether ultimately accepted or not, marks a comparatively recent and advanced stage of thought. Like so many of us, Mr. Lane was shocked by the figures given out by the Surgeon General of the Army early in 1918—that of 1,552,256 men between the

ages of twenty-one and thirty-one examined for entrance to the army, 386,196 of these, coming from twenty-eight camps, were unable to read, understand newspapers, or write letters home. He said:

What argument that could be advanced could be more persuasive that education deserves and must have the consideration of the central government? Make the same kind of an offer to the states for the education of their illiterates that we make to them for the construction of roads, and in five years there would be few, if any, who could not read and write. . . If once we realize that education is not solely a state matter but a national concern, the way is open. . .

We have reached a new stage in administrative development which—so far as education is concerned—is characterized by a widespread desire to broaden, deepen, and intensify the educational function of the general government. We have passed from the conception of the use of national funds for indefinite educational purposes to purposes carefully defined and set forth in substantive law. But the past is still full of significance if we are to advance in the proper way into the hidden future. There should be on the part of legislators a clearer understanding of just what the general government has thus far accomplished in the way of encouraging research. Care should be shown in the further creation of machinery by means of which the educational function of the National Government, broadly conceived and today enormously significant, may be more intimately related to the states. Citizens should be lead to realize that popular education, important as it is in a democracy, is but a phase in the complicated processes making for national enlightenment. To a large extent progress in enlightenment no doubt depends upon intelligent and well-trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. It springs, however, from innumerable sources, many of which are often ignored by so-called educational experts. Not infrequently it comes from tiny efforts on the part of individual experimenters and thinkers; it is molded and shaped by group

efforts in government, state university, and privately owned laboratories devoted to study and research; it depends for its vitality upon our great museums and libraries scattered throughout the country. Can such educational activities ever be confined to the limits of any executive department that could conceivably be organized?

The old theory that education should be largely the concern of the various states cannot be overlooked. In principle it would appear still to be sound, for it will restrain the general government from going too far in the direction of the policy of beneficent despotism. It will act by way of restraint and hold the national government to a middle course—that of lending aid in a critical epoch, and of withdrawing such aid so soon as the states themselves shall have proved themselves able to care for local educational defects and weaknesses.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON EDUCATION*

In speaking to you on the subject assigned, I should, perhaps, say a word for the purpose of clarifying the theme itself. By the “constitutional significance,” I understand is meant the bearing, if any, the Constitution of the United States may have in the way of either permitting or preventing legislation by Congress for the purpose of promoting education.

By “political significance,” I understand is meant the bearing such legislation may have on the relations of the individual citizen to the State or the Federal Government including its bearing on the social and political life and ideals of the people.

* From address delivered by Hon. Thomas Sterling, senator from South Dakota, and sponsor of the Sterling-Towner bill, at a conference on the relation of the federal government to education, held at the University of Illinois, December 2, 1921. *New Age*. 34: 729-32. December, 1926.

While in our day education is an all-absorbing and practical source of effort and desire, we search the Constitution of the United States in vain for the word "education." So far as we know, no proposal in the interests of education was brought before the convention of 1787 save one, by James Madison, which would have given Congress the power:

To establish seminaries for the promotion of the arts and sciences.

To establish public institutions, rewards, and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trade, and manufacture.

It appears that the proposal was not discussed by the convention except that one member expressed the view that it was not necessary to grant such power to Congress, as "the exclusive power at the seat of government will reach the object."

We read the specifically enumerated powers of Congress contained in section 8 of Article I of the Constitution and find no authority, expressed or to be implied, for congressional action in directing, controlling, or promoting the education of the people.

To come to the point, the powers of Congress under the Constitution are delegated powers. By the terms of Article X—

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people.

The power to direct or control education is not delegated to the United States—that is, not delegated to the Federal Government acting through either the legislative or executive branches thereof. It is not a power prohibited to the States, and is, therefore, a power reserved to the States or to the people.

The various grants of power are in the most concise terms possible. In many cases they have been apparently extended by judicial interpretation, or by what the critics would more harshly term "judicial legislation." The

framers of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, giving Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states, could hardly have dreamed of those new conditions and that more complex society which have invited or demanded the frequent application of the right of Congress to regulate commerce among the several states of the Union. It is in this sense, rather than by judicial legislation, that the powers of Congress seem to have been extended.

Likewise, the power to establish post offices and post roads is couched in so many words, but as a result we have the Postal System, which is the marvel of the world. Moreover, rural and city free delivery; the parcel post; the exclusion from the mails of certain matter regarded as dangerous to the morals, health, and peace of society; the appropriation of more than \$300,000,000 of federal money since 1916 to aid the states in the construction of roads, have followed as a consequence of this apparently limited grant of power.

Of course, with each new exercise or application of the power has come the cry of unconstitutionality, of centralization, of paternalism; but, recognizing new conditions and new needs, the highest judicial tribunal has for the most part sustained the legislation enacted in pursuance thereof, and the people have come to realize that there has been no usurpation and no infringement upon the principles or spirit of true democracy.

In the matter of education is there anything at all on which to build? There is little question but that the desire for the general welfare has been the animating cause for much of the legislation assumed to be in pursuance of a power under the Constitution, and that it has been a factor also in judicial interpretation.

To what extent may the general welfare be the ground of congressional action where no express power whatever concerning the particular subject is conferred upon Congress?

The general welfare is twice mentioned in the Constitution. First, in the preamble, where to "promote the general welfare" is named as one of the objects for which the Constitution is ordained and established; and secondly, in section 8 of Article I, where, among objects for which Congress may collect taxes, is the one to "provide for the general welfare of the United States."

To what extent may federal legislation relating to education be built on these two?

As a background to some conclusions reached, let it be observed that the omissions of the Constitution do not reflect the attitude of the fathers of the Republic in regard to education, although considering the fact that so many of these were educated men with their traditional belief in the diffusion of education among the people, and that it must be counted on as the very corner-stone of free government, the wonder to the superficial observer at least is that their beliefs did not find some expression in the fundamental law.

But now, in the light of our wonderful history, with our better understanding of all the forces and factors that have entered into the problem, I am convinced that if the founders of the Constitution did not "build more wisely than they knew," they builded more wisely than many who came after them have known. For it was a new and as they hoped permanent Federal Government they were constructing, and that, too, out of states most sensitive as to their prerogatives.

I think for those what we might term "formative days" it was better so. Back of it all, however, was the early American spirit in education which had been manifested in many ways—by the admonition of individual leaders; by the action of legislative and governing bodies; by the quick response of the people to the proposition to widen the field or raise higher the standard of education. Let me recall a few of these:

The ordinance of the Continental Congress of 1875 gave the sixteenth section in every township for educational purposes, this out of lands ceded by the original states to the United States.

The celebrated ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwest Territory, contained the declaration:

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

From the year 1803 to the year 1846, inclusive, 12 states had received the sixteenth section as an endowment for public schools, either out of the lands ceded by the states to the United States or out of the Louisiana Purchase, the total being 10,919,586 acres.

From the year 1850 to the year 1875, inclusive, 15 states received sections 16 and 36 out of every township belonging to the public domain for common-school purposes, or a total of 52,869,872 acres.

Certain of the original 13 states gave of their own state-owned lands for school purposes.

The munificent endowments of land for the purpose of general education rest for their authority on that part of section 3 of Article IV of the Constitution which gives Congress the power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States," and Congress thus empowered could not have more nearly reflected the American genius or have better served the general welfare than it did in rendering this aid to education.

Aside from the strong religious motive which prompted much of the early colonial effort in the establishment of schools, these acts of Congress harmonized with what from the earliest times in our history has been the general American ideal.

Washington, as we know, cherished the idea of a national university. He made some provision for it in his

last will and testament. From that remarkable document I quote these significant words. They have a bearing upon the scope and purpose of present congressional effort:

For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising Empire, thereby to do away with local attachments and state prejudices as far as things would or, indeed, ought to admit from our national councils.

The words, too, of his farewell address will be as appropriate down to our remotest posterity as when first uttered:

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

Thus both the will and testament and the farewell address state in a broad way the political significance of federal legislation on education. Local attachments and state prejudices should yield to those systematic ideas through which men comprehend not merely local or special interests and institutions but the national welfare, and it goes without saying that in the last analysis it is public opinion in this country that governs, and in order to govern aright, it must be an enlightened public opinion.

Now we come to a new era and a new form of government grant. It is not one in aid of the common schools or of education generally, but for institutions of a new type where, in the language of the grant:

The leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies and including military tactics to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislature of the several states shall prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life.

The Morrill Act of 1862 was approved by President Lincoln after it had been vetoed by President Buchanan

on the grounds that it was both inexpedient and unconstitutional. I do not think the constitutionality of that act has ever been questioned in any judicial proceeding. It has been characterized as "probably the most important single specific enactment ever made in the interest of education. . . It expresses the final emancipation from formed traditional and aristocratic ideas." It recognizes the democracy of education.

But the Morrill Act was only a beginning. It is followed by the Hatch Act of 1887, which gives money, \$15,000 a year, the proceeds of the sale of public lands, but not lands, to each State for an agricultural and experiment station. This amount is doubled by the Adams Act of 1906.

The second Morrill Act, that of 1890, gives as a further endowment to the agricultural colleges \$15,000 a year to be increased by \$1000 a year until a total of \$25,000 is reached.

And now comes the recognition of a new principle. It is found in the third Morrill Act. Senator Morrill foresaw the day when, with the decrease in the available public lands, there must necessarily be decrease in the funds to be derived from the sale for apportionment among the several states, and so he provided that any deficiency arising from such sales should be made good from any funds in the national Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

We have crossed the line; we have set the precedent. If it were ever doubted whether the words "or other property" in that paragraph of Article IV of the Constitution which gives to Congress "the power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory 'or other property' of the United States," could be construed to include money, the doubt was in effect removed by the third Morrill Act. We did it. Not to my knowledge has the constitutionality of this act ever been questioned in any judicial proceeding.

The enactment successively of the agricultural extension act of 1914, the vocational education act of 1917, the maternity act of 1921—all educational, all now acquiesced in, and as I believe, all rejoiced in—have given such strong legislative construction as to what Congress may do in the laying of taxes and the granting of money for the public welfare, that there is now no danger that the power will ever again be called in question.

But there is one more step. It must be taken if we keep pace with the growing American spirit in education. From the political standpoint it is of the utmost significance. Professor Bryce, in his *American Commonwealth*, third edition, 1895, after speaking of the Americans as an educated people compared with the whole mass of the population in any European country, except Switzerland, parts of Germany, Norway, Iceland, and Scotland, says parenthetically:

I speak, of course, of the native Americans, excluding negroes and recent immigrants.

And then he goes on further to say:

The instruction received in the common schools and from the newspapers and supposed to be developed by the practice of primaries and conventions, while it makes the voter deem himself capable of governing does not fit him to weigh the real merits of his statesmen, to discern the true grounds on which questions ought to be decided, to note the drift of events and discover the direction in which parties are being carried.

Taking the two passages together with what he says by way of parenthesis in regard to the inclusion of native Americans and the exclusion of "recent immigrants," from his estimate we can readily discover our new need for legislation that will insure further encouragement of the national resources.

If when Viscount Bryce wrote these passages, the recent "immigrant element" would have lowered the general high standard of American literacy, by how much more would it have done so a quarter of a century later, considering the swarms that have come to our shores

within that period and the parts of Europe from which they have come.

A brief survey suggests these inquiries:

Is there need that these numerous alien elements, representing every variety of political, economic, or social creed, or without any creed at all, should be quickly assimilated and brought into harmony with our ideals of free government?

Visit Ellis Island, the great immigrant port of entry for the United States, or the great industries—steel or cotton or coal—or the little Greece, or Italy, or Poland, or Russia, or the big ghetto, as you will find them in the big cities of our country, and tell me how long you think it will take and by what available processes or facilities the task will be accomplished?

Does this present a national problem? Is there need that the general government aid in encouraging the states in extending the field and increasing their educational facilities?

Let the United States Army and the selective service records made during the late war, with their astonishing if not alarming story of illiteracy and physical unfitness, answer the question.

Would you know to what classes and to what degree of ignorance and illiteracy the men who advocate the overthrow of government or the accomplishment of industrial revolution by force and violence make their most successful appeal? The records of the courts, state and federal, will tell part of the story. The Immigration Bureau at Washington and the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice can add to the information, but those to whom such appeal is made are numbered by the million.

Can the nation ignore this menace to its peace and good order by failure to encourage education and Americanization?

Again, is it not a matter of national concern that the

opportunities, especially for primary and rural school education, should be increased and equalized so that the children of America, whether they live in Massachusetts or Texas, in densely or sparsely settled communities, shall have equal chances to obtain a common-school education and learn the fundamentals of citizenship?

These are all national problems thrust upon us as the natural and logical result of our national policies and of our growth from the simpler needs which the community or the state could perhaps at one time supply to a nation-wide and complex social and political condition. These problems must have national sympathy and cooperation for their proper solution.

Let it be remembered that all these classes which I have just mentioned, un-American in spirit and sympathy as many of them are, are yet citizens or potential citizens, not of the state alone in which they reside but of the United States. They cannot be Americanized out of hand overnight; Americanization involves education, and that takes time, skill, and fit instrumentalities. Let us not forget that the citizenship of every man, woman, and child, if they have citizenship at all, is a dual citizenship, one a citizenship of the state, one of the nation, and each is the source of its peculiar rights and obligations.

It is no less imperative that the citizen respond to the call to perform his national duty than it is that he perform his duty to the state. More and more and sometimes in spite of ourselves do we recognize the all-pervasiveness of national interest and policies, and more and more do we share in the national consciousness. The nation then is interested in the moral, educational, and political equipment of its citizenship. To refer again to the language of Mr. Bryce: The nation even more than the state is interested in knowing that the voter is "fit to weigh the real merits of statesmen, to discern the true grounds on which questions ought to be decided, to note

the drift of events, and discover the direction in which parties are being carried."

So, as it seems to me, viewed from the national standpoint, the political significance of federal activities in education can no longer be open to conjecture. There are present-day exigencies not within the scope of existing legislation to aid in meeting which is, in my judgment, the imperative duty of the general government. They cannot be met by a submerged and unrelated bureau in the Department of the Interior. The vital importance of the subject, its intimate relation to the well-being and safety of the people—and this is the highest law—as well as the dignity of the subject, all combine to urge as the next great step the creation of a department of education, with its secretary a member of the President's Cabinet, whose proper function it shall be to cover the whole field of our national resources and needs through investigation and research; and which, without dictation, without ignoring state plans or encroaching upon the freedom of state initiative, shall from its higher vantage ground encourage, stimulate, and lead in every constitutional cooperative educational enterprise that will enhance the general welfare.

WAKING UP TO ILLITERACY ⁶

No one would be so rash as to say that the United States has ever been tremendously excited about the problem of illiteracy. We have had campaigns against vice, graft, Demon Rum, and even Lady Nicotine, but only within the last decade have we had any stir about illiteracy. Instead of "No saloons by 1920," the cry is now "A literate nation by 1930." A campaign, and apparently a somewhat successful one, has been instituted by the National Education Association as a result of the fig-

⁶ By Arthur W. Bromage, Harvard University. *Journal of Education*. 103: 378-9. April 8, 1926.

ures brought to us by three surveys divergent in methods and standards, and consequently, strikingly dissimilar in results. These three reports are the Army Tests of 1917, 1918; the 1923 survey of the National Education Association; and the 1920 report of the United States census. Before noting the results recorded by these various organizations it would be well for us to examine the standards by which they determined illiteracy and the methods which they used.

Perhaps the highest standard of illiteracy, which amounted almost to "faltering literacy," was maintained by the Army Tests. The recruits were divided into groups; one, those presumably capable for the Alpha Test for literates; the other, those presumably capable only of the Beta Test for illiterates. Unfortunate as it may seem, the methods of choosing the men who were only capable of the Beta examination varied extremely among the camps. Segregation was too often made by chance, or was dependent on the ability of a sergeant or interpreter. Even the space available in examination rooms or the time given to segregation were factors in determining who should take the Beta examination for illiterates. However, as the Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences point out, it may be said in general that many of the camps aimed at an "ability to read and understand newspapers and write letters home," and that the Beta examination included those men who could not successfully pass such a standard. Thus we see that the number of men listed as illiterate by the United States Army Test should more fittingly be termed the "falteringly literate." Accepting this point of view, it is still evident that the figures presented by the Army Tests are of an alarming nature. Of the 1,556,011 men and 32,893 officers tested, 25.3 per cent were given the Beta examination and an additional 5.7 per cent failing in the Alpha test for literates were likewise given the Beta examination.

Passing on to the report of the National Education Association, we find that they had a special commission on illiteracy which was composed of six leading state superintendents of instruction, two specialists on adult education, the president of a state technology school, and two editors, with Mrs. Cora Wilson Stewart as chairman. This committee studied the situation and reported to the National Education Association. Before the 1923 convention, Mrs. Stewart outlined the following methods: "In its study of illiteracy conditions, your commission has carefully analyzed the statistical reports gathered by the United States Census Bureau in 1920, has gone into public libraries all over the country and has subscribed to various clipping bureaus to secure current information. Also, a representative of your commission has gone into most of the states and into illiterate localities of the same to investigate conditions." As a result of this survey, the commission has stated that if the completion of the second grade in grammar school were used as a standard, the number of illiterates "would doubtless be double the number reported by the Census Bureau."

Of course, this statement of fact is rather startling since such a low standard of illiteracy is used as a criterion. However, the commission seems to have been justified in its decision somewhat because the 1920 census was based on confessed inability to write in any language. Moreover, "the commission has found localities where no inquiry as to illiteracy had been made by the census takers and the assumption is that all persons in it were listed as being able to read and write."

With these facts in mind it is timely that we consider the report of the United States Census Bureau. To this organization as previously stated an illiterate is a person who confesses that he cannot write in any language. In the actual census no proof was demanded, for mere assertion of ability to write was accepted without tests. The num-

ber of people who were truthful enough to confess such illiteracy was 4,931,905.

To summarize: We find in the first place, that the United States Army Tests of 1917 and 1918 report 25.3 per cent illiterate, and 5.7 per cent semi-illiterate (according to the Alpha Test). In the second place, the National Education Association estimates approximately 10,000,000 illiterates, which is 9.5 per cent. In the third place, the United States Census Report of 1920 shows the number of confessed illiterates to be 4,931,905 or 4.7 per cent.

With the standards, methods, and results of the three organizations before us, we are anxious to reach some reasonable conclusions upon the percentage of illiteracy in the United States. The census reports may perhaps be regarded as least reliable, for it seems plausible to state that few would be proud to confess themselves illiterate, and, no doubt, many would be worldly enough to lie about it.

There is also the further question as to how faithfully the census takers asked the illiteracy question. Then, the Army Tests present extraordinarily high ratio. This may be explained by the very high standard of literacy which they demanded. Again we must consider that according to the census figures, 2,540,209 males are illiterates as compared with 2,391,696 females. Therefore, to the high standard of the Army Tests we must add as a cause that they only examined the males.

With the question of the prevalence of illiteracy outlined before us, we may further examine in what population elements or regions the illiteracy problem is greatest. Here, unfortunately, we must rely on the figures of the United States Census Bureau as the only complete information on the subject. A study of the 1920 Census Report reveals pertinent data. There are 1,955,112 urban, and 2,976,793 rural illiterates. This is due no doubt to the fact that the complex city environment requires

literacy. On the other hand, it is interesting to know that the percentage of urban illiterates in the New England and Middle Atlantic States is greater than the rural. The most acceptable explanation is that it is caused by the foreign-born illiterates congregating in the manufacturing districts. It is to be noted that illiteracy of those of native white parentage is practically negligible in the urban communities.

A study of the South Atlantic and East South Atlantic States shows a somewhat higher ratio of native white illiteracy in the urban districts and a tremendous increase in the proportion of illiteracy among the rural population. Negro illiteracy both urban and rural runs heavily in these same sections. Yet in no case does negro illiteracy among the urban population exceed the rural percentage, demonstrating the flux of the better type of negro to the city with its complex environment.

In conclusion it seems that we cannot blame any single population element or region for our illiteracy conditions. Some make the astounding statement that there are only 1,763,740 foreign-born illiterates according to the census, but 3,168,165 native-born illiterates. This is true, but remember that under native born are included the negroes who contribute 1,842,161 illiterates. The future illiteracy problem it seems will not be among the foreign-born in the cities but rather in rural areas. The present situation of a dwindling urban problem is due to the greater financial abilities of cities to provide night schools and campaign material against illiteracy. Whoever would be the St. George to kill the Dragon of Illiteracy should begin his attack on the rural areas.

ILLITERACY PROGRAM ⁷

Outstanding are three (causes of illiteracy)—inadequate schools, inadequate and unenforced compulsory at-

⁷ By Charles McKenny, State Normal College, Ypsilanti, Michigan. Read before the National Council of Education, Washington, 1924. *School and Society*. 21: 247-52. February 28, 1925.

tendance laws and immigration. Immigration is a large factor, as it supplies two fifths of our illiterates. Our ignorance and pride incline us to blame immigration for most of our illiterates, but the fact is that three fifths, that is, three millions of our five million illiterates are native born, and of the native-born illiterates approximately one and a quarter million are white and one and three quarter million are colored. We then must blame ourselves and no one else for our three million native illiterates above the age of ten. The cause of this native illiteracy is twofold—poor school facilities and unenforced compulsory school attendance laws. In some of our states which rank well educationally we are still breeding illiterates in sections which are sparsely settled and in certain states which are educationally retarded the situation is extremely disheartening. We have decreased illiteracy but one per cent in ten years, and the last census returns show a half million native-born illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty and, what is more alarming, the last available figures for a complete year show that 1,437,783 children between the ages of ten and thirteen did not attend school a single day. Unless we mend our ways the problem of illiteracy will vex us for a hundred years.

But why bother about illiteracy? There is less of it in the United States and in the world than ever before. What if a few millions of adults and children above ten years old can not read or write? The human race existed on this planet several million years before written language was invented. There are enough who are literate to look after the concerns of humanity. Let the illiterates enjoy their ignorance. The reply to this let-alone argument is threefold: The first is humanitarian, the second is economic and the last is patriotic. In the first place, then, we campaign against illiteracy for the purpose of subtracting from human misery and adding to human happiness. In this day of print, when the sleepless printing presses are turning out tons of literature in the form

of daily papers, of magazines and of books, in this day when the world, so far as intercommunication is concerned, has shrunk to the size of a county of a century ago, it is pathetic to think that there are millions who are unable to get instruction or enjoyment from the printed page. When for any reason whatsoever we are personally deprived for a time of the pleasure of reading we begin to appreciate in a small degree the pathetic condition of those to whom written language is an impenetrable mystery. The humiliation and the loss of self-respect which come to those who are illiterate is something we can only imagine. Illiteracy is a badge of inferiority, a disgrace which is felt by every one to a more or less degree who is a victim of it. The testimony of those who in adulthood have learned to read and write is touching and compelling. A world-wide war against illiteracy would be justified on purely altruistic grounds, for happiness is a legitimate human goal.

But there are other considerations as well. It was a maxim of Napoleon that an army travels upon its stomach. So does a nation; so does the entire human race. We are assured by the world's best authorities that the human race is nearing a critical situation so far as food supply is concerned. It will require all the enlightenment and intelligence that the world can muster to safely adjust population and food supply. The hope of the world in this direction lies in the development, popularization and spread of scientific knowledge. Here enters education. It takes educated brains to produce wealth. The illiterate is economically inefficient and unproductive both for himself and for society. Compare the most illiterate and the least illiterate states with respect to the production of wealth and note how the balance tips in favor of literacy. In 1920 the per capita production of wealth in the five states which had maintained the most efficient school systems measured by the Ayres scale was nearly double that in the five states which had maintained the most inef-

ficient school systems. Franklin K. Lane estimated that illiteracy is costing the nation \$825,000,000 annually. The commission on waste in industry estimates an annual loss of \$1,000,000,000 in the United States on account of preventable sickness. These amounts each approach closely the total cost of our public schools. The only remedy for these enormous losses is education. Illiteracy breeds ignorance, unproductiveness, poverty, ill health and low moral standards. For economic reasons alone the struggle against illiteracy must continue.

But there is another consideration which impels us forward in the effort to eradicate illiteracy, and that is patriotism—our interest in the stability and perpetuity of our political and social institutions. With a faith in the political capabilities of the common man, which to the rest of the world seemed fanatical, this nation established manhood and has added womanhood suffrage, and in several states the primary, the initiative, the referendum and the recall have been adopted. The government of this mighty nation is in the hands of the people. Public opinion elects our officials and controls them while in office. The ballot is at once the hope and the menace of all democratic nations. It is a savor of life unto life or death unto death. An ignorant ballot is a menace and a threat, an intelligent ballot is a well-placed stone in the foundation of the republic. A voter who can not read is necessarily a prey of the demagogue and the political and social profiteer. The number of such voters is appalling. In 1920 4,333,111 illiterates were twenty-one years or over, and consequently voters. In many of our states this unintelligent mass would be sufficient to turn an election and decide tremendous issues of social significance. In the old New England days the town meeting was the forum of public discussion and through such discussion the intelligent though illiterate man could become informed on public questions. That day is gone forever and the printed page in book or magazine or daily

press is the source of information. A voter who can not use the printed page can not hope to be informed and consequently is a dangerous voter. The country can not safely perpetuate him.

We have now considered the present situation, the cause which produced it and the reasons for an unceasing campaign against illiteracy. It remains to consider our objectives, ultimate and immediate, and the methods by which they are to be attained. Of course, our ultimate objective is the banishment of illiteracy from the United States. Our first immediate objective should be the stoppage of the supply of illiteracy. We stand today in the situation of a man who is pulling victims out of a river while some one above is throwing them in. He has a perpetual job. The only sensible thing for him to do is to dispose of the men throwing the victims in. Analogously, it should be our first business to stop the creation of illiterates. A generation at most could settle the matter if no more illiterates were bred.

We have found that immigration has been responsible for 2,000,000 of our illiterates. Our new immigration laws will greatly reduce though they have not yet wholly stopped the influx of illiterates from alien lands. The Bureau of Immigration reports that 11,356 persons who could not read or write were admitted to this country during 1923.

The second source of illiterates is insufficient schooling. Here the line of procedure is evident. Our states that are backward educationally must have more and better schools. If the amendment to eliminate child labor becomes effective, as no doubt it will, one source of illiteracy will be stopped, for when states quit working their children there is hope that they will send them to school. Throughout many of our states there must be a better enforcement of the compulsory education laws. No blow at illiteracy would be more effective than one delivered against laxity in the enforcement of the laws compelling

school attendance. Need or greed or the indifference of parents should not be permitted to rob the children of the United States of their rightful inheritance through the public schools and to weaken our social and political structure through the breeding of illiterates.

The prevention of illiteracy through better school facilities and a rigid enforcement of attendance laws is clearly up to the states. An educational campaign of a fervid type is needed in some states to create new ideals and set up new standards. Nothing is so hard to change as custom. What is, stands in the way of what should be.

It is equally true that the education of adult illiterates belongs to the state. Illiteracy is a social blight and the resources of the state should be pledged to its removal. A matter of such general concern should not be left to philanthropy. A state program administered through the office of the state superintendent of education is the sound and approved method of procedure.

Another immediate objective should be the writing on the statute books of every state a literacy requirement for voting. As has already been stated, an illiterate ballot is a dangerous ballot. It is likely that no single act would call the attention of the American public to the subject of illiteracy more than legislation making literacy a qualification of all new voters.

So far our attention has been centered upon those who can not read or write in any language, but we must not overlook the ten million immigrants who, though they can read and write their native tongue, are illiterate so far as English is concerned. These, too, should be included in our program. We should not trust the interpretation of our social and political institutions and traditions to a foreign language press, not so much from fear of wrong motives on the part of such a press as of inherent inability to understand and appreciate our institutions and ideals. Splendid work has been done for this class in several of

our states. The writer has recently received a letter from Charles N. Herlihy, state supervisor of adult education of Massachusetts, which states that during the last five years more than 100,000 adult illiterate foreigners have learned to read and write English in the public school classes in the following states: New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, South Dakota, Minnesota, California. It is encouraging to know that several of the southern states are efficiently organized in the matter of illiteracy, namely, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Oklahoma.

We have stressed the responsibility of the states in preventing illiteracy, but this does not signify that we think the federal government has no responsibility in the matter. On the contrary, we hold that education is a national concern and that the federal government should cooperate with the states in promoting it.

The country is ready for a great forward movement against illiteracy. Since this is distinctly an educational movement we have a right to look to the educational forces of the states to initiate it where it has not already been launched. The years ought not to be many until every state is thoroughly and effectively organized for the purpose of removing the dark disgrace of illiteracy from our fair land.

RISING COST OF AMERICAN EDUCATION ⁸

Do the American people know that in a generation, from 1890 to 1920, the annual cost of education which they gave in their elementary and secondary schools rose from a little less than \$150,000,000 to more than \$1,000,000,000? With this sevenfold increase in expenditure the increase in pupils was twofold. In the preceding score of years, from 1870 to 1890, the cost of education

⁸ From article by Charles Franklin Thwing, president emeritus of Western Reserve University. *Current History*. 25: 75-81. October, 1926.

rose fourfold, the number of pupils advanced only 5 per cent. In the decade between 1910 and 1920 the cost of education for each inhabitant of the United States rose from \$4.62 to \$9.90. In a more recent period, 1913-1923, the cost of public education rose from \$521,000,000 to \$1,580,000,000. In the three decades from 1890 to 1920 the sum paid to teachers in annual salaries leaped from less than \$100,000,000 to almost \$450,000,000. A representative city like Akron, Ohio, had a school budget in 1913 calling for \$454,000, and in 1923 for \$2,500,000; another representative city of a different type, Denver, required for the year 1912-1913 about \$1,300,000, and in 1922 almost \$3,500,000. At the present day the needs of the schools of the United States demand the colossal sum of \$3,000,000,000 for immediate expenditure for school buildings, or about one-seventh of the national debt. Many more facts could be adduced to illustrate the rise of educational costs in every State and in many cities, but those set forth suffice to indicate one of the greatest of all the problems confronting the nation's taxpayers.

The causes of this vast increase in the cost of education are far more interesting to the student of educational and other social conditions than are the facts of the increase themselves. After allowing for the fact that purchasing value of the dollar has been diminished by about one-third in the last ten years, nine specific causes may be set forth:

1. The first element that has brought about the increase is the much larger number of pupils found in the schools. In the year 1890 in the elementary and secondary public schools, 12,722,581 children were enrolled. In 1920 this number had increased to 21,578,316. The increase in students in the universities and colleges was proportionately far greater, from 65,274 to 341,082. High schools, which are more expensive to carry on, gained more than the elementary schools.

2. The increase in the number of students involves a corresponding increase in the number of teachers and a consequent enlargement of the salary budget. School boards and superintendents, however, try to deal with the increased number of pupils each new year with the teaching staff of the year preceding. Whereas pupils in the period from 1890 to 1920 increased from 12,722,581 to 21,578,316, the number of teachers grew from 363,922 to 679,533.

3. The enlargement of the course of study is another cause of increased expenditure. In 1890 the course of study in the American high school regularly consisted of these subjects: Latin, Greek, French, German, algebra, geometry, physics, chemistry and general history. In the lower schools the course was quite as fundamental and regular: Reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, geography and grammar. Thirty years have passed and many additions have been made. At the present time the high school is not giving one consistent course, but several courses which are more or less inconsistent. In one of the best representative schools, for instance, there are to be found courses bearing these names: Academic, general, college preparatory, technical, commercial, industrial for boys and industrial for girls. In none of these courses is Greek mentioned. That historic subject has, in fact, been entirely or quite generally cast out of the public high schools. Such courses are substituted as woodworking, with drawing, machine-shop practice, pattern making, foundry work, bookkeeping, typewriting, stenography, economics, commercial law, salesmanship, secretarial work, dressmaking and millinery, with drawing, arts and crafts. Likewise in the elementary schools of a representative city the six fundamental subjects have been enlarged to include besides arithmetic, algebra and geometry, English grammar, composition and literature, nature study, history, Latin, physiology and hygiene, physical education, music, art, manual training, home

economics, current events, thrift and citizenship. Many of these subjects require an equipment far greater and more complex than simple linguistic or mathematical teaching.

4. A further element of cost is created by the better buildings. The schools of today have far more adequate houses than had the earlier, or even quite recent, schools. Schoolhouses are more strongly built, and are far more completely furnished for educational purposes and for health, safety and comfort. The enlarged estimates necessary in the building, equipment and maintenance of the modern home are simply repeated in the establishment of public schools.

5. Educational administration now costs more on account of the increased number of pupils, and also because of the enlargement of the curriculum. The administrative staffs tend to outrun the increase in the number of students and teachers. The school simply copies the industrial plant in creating new positions for supervisors, assistant superintendents, assistant principals, librarians, secretaries and accountants. The salary, too, attached to each executive office seems to demand special additions.

The enlarged and more complex school systems require a series of intellectual tests which indicate the progress the student is making, or failing to make, and which measure his fitness to advance from grade to grade, or to proceed to a higher school. Many detailed reports are demanded from each teacher and from the whole body of teachers regarding the progress of each class and of each member of each class and in each study. These reports finally find their way into the central office, where they are discussed, compared, weighed, and made the basis of educational inferences and judgments touching present duties and future progress and procedure. With such testings and reportings there is often linked a bureau of educational research. All this necessitates, di-

rectly or indirectly, additions of many thousand dollars to school budgets.

7. Pension systems for teachers have been established by many cities and several States. In Massachusetts, for example, the teachers' retirement fund at the end of ten years amounted to more than \$6,000,000. With the close of 1923 retiring allowances aggregating \$315,000 were paid to 608 teachers.

8. The extension of the civil and social functions of the public school is another new factor in expenditure. The individual schoolhouse has become a centre for its neighborhood. Societies of all kinds meet there in the evening or the late afternoon. Classes of many sorts of study assemble. Extension courses, university or other, are associated with its teachings and its teachers. Immigration, or Americanization, classes come to its hall for lectures.

9. To the foregoing may be added a cause of a quite comprehensive character. It lies in the general lifting of the whole plane of service, of material construction, of the variety of forces performing public functions which result in the increase of the whole order of expense. This condition is general. It belongs to the whole life of the community, a life which is passing from simplicity to complexity, from complexity to a certain degree of what would once have been called luxury. It belongs to the home, to the factory, to the shop, to the store, to the Church. It belongs no less to the schools and colleges. The general scale of expenditure affects the scale of expenditure in public education.

These nine causes may be generally summed up in one word—"enlargement," or, perhaps, "intensification." The function of the people's education has become vastly enlarged. More boys and girls have to be educated by a greater number of teachers, in a greater variety of subjects, in more wholesome houses, under more beautiful

conditions, through more competent administration, with a clearer understanding of methods, forces and results. Such is the most comprehensive reason for the increased cost of public education.

Not the least interesting aspect of the subject is the actual student for which so much money is expended. The student material of the American school has become most diverse in origin, and consequently most diverse in nature and required nurture. Formerly homogeneous in racial origin and in social environment, the children we educate are now of all sorts and conditions. In certain schools in Cleveland, for example, the children from non-English-speaking homes outnumber those coming from English-speaking homes. The children of the non-English-speaking homes of a single building number fifty different nationalities, and often in a single classroom are found boys and girls of no less than a dozen different national origins. In the Eagle School, for instance, there were enrolled in a recent year 26 English children, 89 Syrian, 116 Slovak, 23 Albanian and 288 Italian. In the Tremont School there were registered 276 English, 266 Slovak, 443 Russian and 483 Polish children. Assuming that no racial or religious prejudices exist against the foreigner in American schools and social life, it is yet to be said that these foreign origins and environments do carry along evidences of the fundamental difficulties of giving, or of getting, the best education, an education representing the noblest forces and elements of American life, character and service. These origins and environments immediately give a definite basis for judging the difficulty of getting a proper result from the high and higher cost of elementary education.

Several important questions arise as to the adequacy of the result of the increased cost of education. They may be summarized as follows: (1) Does education help the pupil to know the past out of which he has come? (2) Does education help him to know the world of na-

ture which surrounds him and which serves somewhat to make him what he is? (3) Does education help him to know his own age and conditions which are determining him, and which he is a factor in determining? (4) Does education help him to know literature, the supreme product of the past, and the wisest interpretation of the present? (5) Does education help him to know the Infinite Power, above and around him, which most people call God? (6) Does education help him to anticipate, as best he may, the future and to adjust himself to its demands and limitations? (7) Does education help him to know himself, to give himself command of his own mind and will, to adjust himself to his fellows, in happiness, and they to himself, to use his intellectual faculties, or manual facilities, by wisest methods, unto the filling of immediate and timely needs, and unto the noblest and most lasting achievements? To put these seven critical questions in a different form; does education help one to be a good member, as child, brother, husband, wife, father, mother, of that central, formative, social unit, the family? Does education help one to be a good neighbor, living in peaceful and cooperating relations with those nearest? Does education help one to be a good mechanic, machinist, carpenter, miner, compositor? Does education help one to be a good citizen, who, receiving much from the State and the community, is also giving much, and even more? Does education help one unto an appreciation of the beautiful in nature, in art, in color, or line, or design, in sound, in architecture, in painting, in sculpture? Does education help one unto an understanding of the human world, an understanding which is vitally important to civilization? Does education deepen one's sense of reverence, ennobling the respect for the mysteries which seem unfathomable and producing the mood of worship in and for the infinite? If education does succeed in securing such results, it may be said that no price is too high to pay for it.

The examination of American men entering the military forces during the World War proved that about one-quarter were practically illiterate. Illiteracy in the army is rather serious, for the men are not able to read properly their orders; illiteracy in civil life, although inconvenient, is not to be reckoned with the seven deadly, intellectual sins. But it is a token of intellectual incompetence of great significance, since illiteracy helps to make a pathway to all manner of offenses, moral as well as intellectual, both personal and communal. To be able to read, write and cipher constitutes a threefold key which unlocks many forces and conditions of the utmost worth to the happiness of the individual man and to the welfare of the whole community. Furthermore, those American citizens who do have possession and use of these primary tools do not seem to be able to use them in swift and accurate service in the various doings of life, in the understanding of the most important relations, or in any noble possession of the best that belongs to the present, or to the past. The education which most have received seems to give superficial smatterings of many subjects, without training a thorough understanding of any one. Moreover, it gives a knowledge of facts without the power to reason about facts; it provides evidences, but not the ability to weigh evidence; it lacks the scientific mood, spirit, method. The education which each should receive should, moreover, have certain ethical bases.

We are not getting an adequate return in the intelligence and character of boys and girls, of men and women, for the vastness of the cost of their education. We are not getting a correspondingly higher enrichment of manhood and womanhood for the increase in the expense of the education of which they are the beneficiaries. Any other conclusion would seem to me to be born of an unreasoning and superficial optimism in which we happy and buoyant Americans exult, and upon which we are

inclined to base many educational and social theories and conclusions.

America has the belief, and has entered into the practice of that belief, of the value of education of all its people. America has become devoted to the education of the masses, and in this devotion it has been almost obliged to adopt the method of mass education. Financial and administrative reasons had caused this devotion. Educational democracy has given rise to educational equality. Educational democracy has therefore largely eliminated special education of children of special gifts. It has not, be it at once added, eliminated—rather it has largely introduced—special education for children of peculiarly marked limitations. The backward in mental development, the defective, those limited in the physical sense, as the blind, or in physical functions, as the crippled, have had special opportunities given to them, as, indeed, these opportunities ought to be given. But, in general, American education has sought to produce equality of educational opportunity. It has endeavored to enlarge privilege for the unprivileged, and has been inclined to take away privilege from the unduly privileged. It has produced equality both by lifting the lower and by depressing the upper part of the social order. It has tried to make education democratic rather than republican, seeking to inform and to train the whole people rather than representative groups.

This determination of the mind, heart, will and conscience of the community to give an education to all opens a way for giving answer respecting our national duty. A preliminary answer is negative. I do not believe that the American people wish to get their money's worth in education by cutting down the amount of money they are paying for education. They recognize that they get more for this money, even if the increase be large, and even if they get far less than they ought, than they do for most expenditures. But they do want to get more and

more of a better education. For this larger service they are willing, even eager, to pay a properly large sum. Their chief wish and will is that the division of proportional expenditure shall be wise and that each proportion shall be used with economy and with efficiency. They are willing to make the outlay of money greater and constantly greater. But they desire that the result in the intellectual and moral character of the student shall be equally great and constantly becoming greater. "Pay more to the schools! Get more from the schools!" might be made a rallying cry in American education.

Our first duty in securing an adequate return for the increased cost of education is to define carefully the essentials of education. What are these essentials? What moreover, is the principle that determines the nature of these essentials? The principle seems to me to be the salvation, or the complete health, of the individual and of the State. Under the application of this principle the essentials in education include, first, whatever ministers most fully to the integrity, in body and mind, of the individual citizen; second, whatever most directly aids his usefulness as a citizen; third, that which completely helps him in adjusting himself to the unchanging laws of nature, and to using these laws for his and the common benefit; fourth, whatever most adequately contributes to his loyalty as a child of God. Whatever condition, therefore, or force, serves to give these four great results is an essential in education.

The community is willing to pay more for education than for any other service. It is willing to pay more for education than it is now paying. Attempts to lessen the expenditures, and thus to lessen taxes, are unwise, and indicate a class selfishness sure to be unavailing. The safety of the Republic depends more than ever upon the educational foundations and forces. As the institutions of democracy become more free, it is correspondingly important that education should become equally more in-

fluent and formative. As civil freedom increases, education should likewise increase in cubical relations. It must, indeed, thus increase. But the community demands, and has a right to demand, a just return for enlarged expenditure.

EDUCATION AS A NATIONAL ISSUE⁹

The American people are more deeply attached to the public schools than to any other publicly supported institution. The reason for this is easily seen and understood. America has a profound respect for its youth. It is its hope for the continuation and propagation of the ideals upon which this nation was founded. In the good American home this respect and hope has developed into almost a worship. Childhood here receives a homage never before given it in the history of the world; neither is any such reverence accorded it even now by any other nation. Except on the part of those who would exploit it, and those who live on the fringe of American life and habits with an economic and spiritual status foreign to the ideals and purposes of America, the childhood of the nation is regarded as its most sacred shrine. An institution which touches American life at this point and with this significance will naturally hold the affection and elicit the support of a people who believe in a democratic philosophy of life.

After the war came a great educational awakening. Everywhere high school and college enrollment increased almost beyond belief. In many cities high school attendance increased in a five-year period more than twice as rapidly as the total population. Colleges and universities have been and are crowded far beyond their capacity to realize their former ideals of thorough and careful instruction.

⁹ From article by Fred M. Hunter, superintendent, public schools, Oakland, California. *New Age*. 32: 617-20. October, 1924.

On the other hand, America has been experiencing an aroused consciousness of the tremendous work yet to be done. The awakening not only started an avalanche of growth in our high schools and colleges but pointed out with unmistakable clearness the deplorable defects in our nation-wide system which leave millions of our youth even yet without the urge and training for good citizenship, which is their right and which in the interest of public welfare they ought to have. The American people believe with increasing earnestness that the work of public education is to create everywhere in America a universal good citizenship on the part of our American youth. When the facts bring home to us that we are falling far short of this ideal in many of our states, there is instant indignation and alarm, resulting in movements to provide a remedy. Such movements have now assumed nation-wide scope and importance.

Let us glance for a moment at the weaknesses and defects in our system of national citizenship training that cry out for attention. We have been prone to regard ourselves as the most intelligent and literate of all nations. It is a severe shock to our pride when we are told that we are not. Until shown the cold, hard facts, most people refuse to believe that the United States of America, instead of ranking first in smallness of the percentage of illiteracy among our people, ranks only ten among the enlightened nations of the world. The census of 1920 gave the United States an illiteracy in its adult population of 7.1 per cent. We are surpassed by Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Netherlands, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Great Britain and France—Denmark and Germany leading with an illiteracy of two-tenths of one per cent.

Let us apply the test to the voting population of the United States. At the presidential election of 1920 when Warren G. Harding was chosen president, twenty-six million votes were cast. By the census of 1920 there

were sixty million persons of voting age in the United States. If we apply the per cent of illiteracy shown by the army draft, fifteen million of the voting population of this country were classed as illiterate. It is only natural to ask the question: Are our American ideals and objectives safe with so large a proportion of our population so deplorably prepared for citizenship? Before I leave the matter of illiteracy, may I point out another fallacy in our public belief? Most people console themselves with the thought that our illiteracy is largely confined to the colored population of the south. This is far from the truth. The three northern states with the largest number of illiterates—New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois—have a total of 911,708, or 75,000 more than the three southern states with most illiterates—Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. It is in the great manufacturing and commercial centers of the north that the problem is greatest. Nor is the campaign against illiteracy at present sufficiently vigorous to speedily eliminate it as a national disgrace and danger. If we continue to attack the problem with the average results obtained during the last ten years, it will be a hundred years before we wipe it out in our native white population alone.

Hand in hand with the problem of illiteracy comes that of Americanization. Again the census returns startle us. With a foreign-born population of 13,192,692 and with a population born of foreign or mixed parentage numbering 22,608,000, we face a tremendous problem in bringing up to the standard of good American citizenship one in three of our total population. Again the centers that demand the concentration of our best attention and effort are to be found in the north. The school systems of our great northern industrial and commercial states have not yet become adequate to guarantee a completely Americanized product in the training of our youth for good citizenship. Much work is yet to be done in

establishing departments of Americanization and systems of home teaching for our foreign-born. What these elements in our population crave is the opportunity to become American. For our own best interest and self-protection, the state school systems of America can do one thing only; namely, provide the means and facilities whereby the standards of good citizenship can be met by these foreign elements.

In addition to the problems of Americanization and illiteracy, we must think of another nation-wide issue; namely, that of physical fitness. The returns from the army draft were unmistakable upon this point. Of our American youth, whom we had thought so superb in a physical way, the draft officers turned back more than one in three; in some of our states the percentage ran as high as forty-five in every hundred. That our system of citizenship training must provide a sound physical basis in the training of our youth there can be no question. The movement to establish compulsory physical education in some of our states has made an excellent start in this direction.

Within the school system itself we are also confronted with certain very disturbing conditions. Reports from the offices of the state superintendents of public instruction throughout the United States point clearly to the fact that large numbers of untrained and inexperienced teachers are giving instruction in thousands upon thousands of our schoolrooms. These reports show that each year more than 110,000 new inexperienced teachers enter the schools. Some states report the number of teachers new to their positions each year to run as high as 68 per cent of the total, while one state reports as high as 47 per cent of the total number of teachers each year as new to the state. It is hardly reassuring to our national complacency to know that between four and five million of our twenty-five million school children go to school each year

to teachers who have had absolutely no professional training for their work and whose education is that of the ordinary high school or less. We must cope with this situation in any attempts that may be made to carry on an effective campaign against illiteracy or to train adequately all our youth for good citizenship.

HOW WE SPEND MONEY

A comparison of the expenditures of the people of the United States for a very general classification of purposes gives us a rather astonishing result. Our total income, national, state and personal, is disbursed in accordance with the following percentages: Church, three-fourths of one per cent; schools, $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; government, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; crime, $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent; investment, 11 per cent; waste, 14 per cent; luxuries, 22 per cent; living costs, $24\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; miscellaneous, $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It will astonish most of us to note that the amount of our income that is expended for sheer waste and luxuries exceeds the amounts expended for living costs and gainful investment together—38 per cent waste and luxuries, $35\frac{1}{2}$ per cent investment and living. Even most responsible people do not realize that crime costs more than government, schools and churches put together—government, churches and schools $6\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, crime, $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. To be a little more specific, this survey shows that we are spending annually for normal schools and for the training of teachers, \$20,400,000 and for chewing gum \$50,000,000; that higher education costs us \$137,000,000, while soda water and other luxuries of the confection counter cost us \$350,000,000. Our total national bill for education is about one billion dollars, while for the doubtful luxury of complexion improvers or destroyers we spend three-quarters of a billion each year. It would be hard to show in the face of these figures that the public schools are costing too much.

WHO SHALL MOULD THE MIND
OF AMERICA¹⁰

It is exceedingly difficult to discuss education in the United States. There are forty-eight systems of education, each differing from the others; and often the educational system of a given state is so loosely organized as within itself to present many instances of dissimilarity. Almost our only uniform characteristic is diversity. Our practice is varied; our opinions conflicting; and our theories at variance.

Long before the days of the American revolution, when the American colonies were still part of the Empire, education had been established in a quite general form, varying from section to section in accord with the national origin, religion, governmental habits and customs of the inhabitants. With certain exceptions (and the student of American education may take proper exception to most of these remarks) education was a private matter. The parents and the church would decide who was to be taught, what was to be taught and who was to teach it.

As time went on, there was a gradual change from a system of private schools to a system of schools supported by all the people and open alike to the children of all the people. There was no uniform movement. Some states led; some states followed. But it was not a national system. In some respects it was not even a state system. The education of the children in the United States four score years ago was determined and controlled by small education committees having jurisdiction over one school or a small number of schools elected by and responsible to the citizens of the small community in

¹⁰ From address by William F. Russell, director of the International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, before the World Federation of Education Associations, Edinburgh, Scotland, July 25, 1925. *School and Society*. 22: 185-90. August 15, 1925.

which the particular school was located and by whom in large measure it was supported. This committee built the school; it chose the teacher; it said what was to be taught; it determined the length of term; it handled the expenditure and income.

Bit by bit, more rapidly in some states, more slowly in others, there has been a steady trend toward state control. Partly by means of grants-in-aid with conditions attached, partly in response to the power of approval, and partly in response to the superior insight of state superintendents like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, the states began to exercise the power over schools that legally rested in their legislatures. Laws were passed, rules laid down, central offices established, until to-day, while there is still considerable power in the local unit, most of the states exercise a considerable amount of control over who shall teach, where one shall teach, what materials shall be used to assist teaching, who shall be taught and how long, and how he shall be compelled or enticed to be taught. But only in recent years has there been much attention paid by state authorities to *what shall be taught*.

Dr. J. K. Flanders recently completed a study of the constitutions and statutes of the 48 states at three periods, 1904, 1914 and 1924, inquiring as to the extent of the control exercised by state legislatures and constitutional conventions over the subjects of instruction. In 1904 there were relatively few state prescriptions. It was customary to find a statement that an elementary school was to teach reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, history and other subjects of the common branches. There was usually no further definition; no statement of particular interpretation or method; the state superintendent was usually given power to interpret or enforce. There were, however, two prescriptions that were fairly common, although they were by no means universal. In general the constitution of the state or the statutes forbade the teaching of sectarian religion; and it was com-

mon to require the teaching of the deleterious effects of alcohol. In a private school a person could teach what he pleased. He need not comply with the formal minimum. He could expect no aid from state funds.

This prohibition of the teaching of religion and this religion of the teaching of prohibition represent two principles of curriculum control which had been established in the United States. The one may be called the principle of dealing with subject matter which is highly controversial; the other the principle of dealing with subject matter upon which there is an aroused public moral opinion. Sectarian religious teachings were considered a violation of the principle of religious liberty guaranteed in our national constitution; but it only became acute in connection with the schools as the religious sects in a community became diverse. So long as there was a predominant or exclusive sect as in Massachusetts in the early days, sectarian religious teaching was allowed. When many sects were represented in a community, it suited the people better to have no religion taught in the public school at all, rather than to have teaching that would be distasteful to the parents of the majority of the children. Thus we find the principle early in operation of excluding from the curriculum that upon which we seriously disagree.

The teaching of the deleterious effects of alcohol came from sentiment aroused by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and other groups which in an organized way carried on propaganda against intemperance in all parts of our land. Lecturers went about; publications were issued; illustrations of the evil effects of the unrestricted use of spirits were on every hand; and a genuine abhorrence was aroused among the people in many parts of our land. There are many jokes about prohibition today; there are all sorts of stories going about; it is fashionable to take a humorous attitude toward it; it may be that the particular radical correction that we tried is not the best solution; but the fact remains that the people of

the United States were thoroughly sick and tired of suffering, for any longer time, the degeneration and decay that came from unrestricted use of alcohol. This feeling has long been felt in America, and this aroused public sentiment was carried over to our lawmakers, first to compel the teaching of the evils of alcohol in the schools. The members of the legislatures were bombarded with petitions; pressure was brought to bear upon them by their constituents, and they complied with the apparently innocuous request that this be taught in the schools rather than to face more embarrassing opposition at home. As a result the youth of America was taught the evil of alcohol in the schools. Who can estimate the influence of this in our recent legislation?

This was the situation in 1904. The next decade revealed greater activity and the World War stimulated legislation at a highly accelerated rate. There were more than eight times as many laws dealing with what should be taught or what should not be taught in 1924 than there were twenty years before. The principle of response to an aroused public moral opinion operated to introduce several requirements. The presence of foreign speaking communities and foreign speaking schools brought statewide resentment, and we find laws compelling the use of English as the medium of instruction. The shocking illiteracy statistics revealed by the soldiers brought up for compulsory service brought on adult education. The ignorance of the ideals and government of our own land brought compulsory study of American history, American ideals, the American constitution and other subjects commonly embraced in the term "Americanization." Fire protection, safety, first aid and kindness to animals, and conservation and thrift all were occasionally prescribed, and from the same motive and on the same principle. Oregon became so aroused that by initiative and referendum it enacted a statute compelling each child to receive his fundamental education in a public school, that all

might be subject to the same influence and all pass through a common gateway. This was adjudged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States as a violation of the provisions respecting religious liberty and private property. The second principle, the elimination of the controversial, was also applied in a variety of ways. One reason for our late entrance into the war was the divided nature of our country. We had a large German population. We had settlements of foreign people, sometimes in distinctly foreign areas. German was taught, and with it on occasions, German ideals, traditions and propaganda. Here was a subject of controversy. German was eliminated from the schools in certain states. Because of the danger of teaching not only a foreign language, but with it foreign ideals, foreign languages were often prohibited in the elementary schools, that is, up to the age of fourteen. In a number of our southern states, where the population contains the purest Anglo-Saxon blood that we have, where the old ideals are most alive, where the old religion is most completely held in the most literal way, we have lately beheld a most violent controversy, the literal biblical versus of the Darwinian theories as to the evolution of man. The United States laughs; the whole world is amused. Yet in truth it is only a common principle of curriculum construction reduced to the absurd. The Tennessee legislature met. It said "What is all this ado?" "Evidently you do not agree. You are seriously divided. I am not interested in the merits of the argument. But it is not fair in schools supported by all for the benefit of all to teach that which will be obnoxious to a significant part of the people, possibly in the majority. Very well, we shall eliminate it from the public schools. If you don't like it, send your child to a private school." It is the same principle that has been applied over and over again.

So, to summarize, in the United States we have tried two types of curriculum control, local control and state

control. The local has been prescription by a small committee elected from the locality to manage the schools. Often the members know little of the problems of education; too often they are relatively untrained. Too often they are incompetent either to select teachers, text-books and materials or so lacking in training as to be unable properly to interpret the thought of the day. On the other hand there is the genuine advantage that comes from the personal responsibilities assumed for the children of neighbors and usually there is a willingness to rely on the judgment of people who combine knowledge and a disinterested point of view. But the ignorance, the lack of purpose, the divergence and the swaying to the winds of local popular opinion incline many of us in the United States to seek for some other solution.

Control by state legislative authorities seems also to be manifestly unwise. If control of the curriculum is to follow each wave of aroused moral sentiment, the minds of the children will be moulded to each passing fancy. If, on the other hand, each controversial question is to be removed from the curriculum, what will be the future of the teaching of history, of economics, of civics, of health and hygiene and a myriad of other subjects? Possibly our curriculum will eventuate in a study of mathematics, ancient languages and archeology.

Shall we introduce control of the curriculum by a nation-wide authority or a minister of education? Many of us in the United States have long viewed with admiration the effective system of schools that accompanies complete centralization of authority. In our land we struggle, we bring pressure on local authorities, we try to convince state boards of education, we argue with our legislatures, and after long periods of constant effort, a small reform is effected. In these other countries, the minister and his advisers only need to be convinced, and with a stroke of the pen the change is accomplished. There are no poor sections. All have essentially equal opportunity.

There are few problems of rich and poor parts of the country. The financial burden is equalized. What a happy day would it be for our own country if we could only emulate that great administrative principle and incorporate it within ourselves. So we have gone abroad into other lands to see the workings of this system and have learned to know and appreciate it.

But there have been some developments in recent years that have given us pause. In one country of Europe where the educational system had been growing and improving, where minister of education succeeded minister of education as the governments changed, where slight changes were made now and then but the essential principles followed: we suddenly saw a sharp change when a radical government of a partisan group was suddenly introduced. The new minister of education held himself responsible, not to educational advisers, but to party advisers. He discharged teachers of opposing convictions. He altered the course of study. He printed his picture in the text-books, together with those of other contemporary partisan leaders. He introduced the teaching of the principles of his own political party as the only friend of the child. He instituted the teaching of subjects calculated to prepare people for the kind of a society which his party was trying to introduce. Remember this was not one subject; it was all subjects. It was not one teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, it was all teachers; it was not one-forty-eighth of a nation, it was all the nation from north to south and east to west. Nor did the world laugh! Those of us who watched it believed that the changes in the main were good. They should have been accomplished long ago. But the principle was terrifying. What might not the next more radical party try to accomplish? Will there be a change of curriculum and text-books every time a new political party comes to power? Is not that country entrusting to the successive

waves of current political opinion the minds of the children, the next generation?

Nor have we seen this in only one country. If we examine carefully developments in several countries of Europe and Asia where there is an all-powerful Ministry of Education with authority over the schools, we see teachers dismissed, partisan politics not only in the management of the schools, but far more important, partisan politics intentionally using *what we teach* and *how we teach* for a partisan end.

The speaker wishes to make clear that he speaks as an individual, that he represents the opinion of no delegation nor of any association. This analysis of the evil effect of centralization applies only so far as curriculum, methods and teacher training are concerned, the internal administration of schools. The external features, finances, buildings, terms, equipment, pensions, health service and the like seem to develop in admirable fashion in these centralized countries.

Now we have no adequate solution. National control of the mind of the child seems too dangerous and important a function to entrust to a national body subject to political influence. State control of the mind of the child by political bodies has reduced itself to an absurdity. Local control without guidance seems weak and ineffective. Yet if the writer of this address were to have his choice, he would vote for local control every time.

How will the solution be achieved? It is our great problem. Here and there possible hopes of final solution are beginning to appear.

The development of the science of education as distinct from an art holds out some hope. We are groping in the dark. We are peering about. But a few methods have been devised and a few instruments have been invented, whereby after periods of long and patient labor, some of our practices may be raised from the level of conjecture to the level of sane knowledge.

Another possibility is the development of the function of teachers' voluntary associations. Some teachers' organizations have for their primary aim the welfare of teachers; others the welfare of children in school and society on beyond. Teachers' associations grow strong in proportion as the latter aim is approached. The National Education Association of the United States has long been working on the problem of what shall be taught. It has influenced school committees, legislative authorities, and school administrators. But its most recent development, under the direction of Superintendent Newlon, whose Denver Plan of curriculum construction deserves the attention of educationists all over the world, is the combination of all our educational forces to the end that in a scientific manner there may be assembled, analyzed and synthesized the best that has been thought, said and done in connection with that which children are taught. At present the entire association is at work on a cooperative program of curriculum revision. It will take many years. All professions will be enlisted. It is our hope that the time will eventually come when this program will be satisfactorily completed and its results trusted by all.

This is probably not a problem that is exclusively American. Others are facing much the same situation, and solutions, adjustments and compromises will be available from the experiences and researches of all lands. So the World Federation of Education Associations holds out to us the hope that from its deliberations and investigations may come some light. It is to be hoped that these larger administrative problems may receive special consideration at future meetings.

In the last analysis the problem is one of the proper relation of the governing officer, the politician and the educator. We can not trust the parent alone. We can not put full power in the hands of the locality. The state fails to provide legislators with sufficient insight. The

nation's governors are too dangerous. Teachers and school administrators may not see all round. In some combination of these many elements will the true solution lie. May our science of education develop. May the associations hold to their noble task. And then the time may come when the minds of our children whose development is in our care may receive a training free from the prejudices of the narrow teacher, protected from the ignorant parent, and safe from the wiles of the unscrupulous political agitator or warlike nationalist.

NEED FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION ²¹

There are two problems that every generation of people must face. The first is that of getting a working hold on the things that past generations have learned to know, do, and appreciate. The second is that of adding to the world's store of knowledge. The first of these tasks is that of education. The second is that of research. Research is of two kinds, first that which discovers new knowledge and second, that which applies this new knowledge. Or, to put it another way, pure research discovers new and isolated facts and principles, while practical research integrates these new and previously isolated facts and principles. Research then is the looking into the future, with a vision that creates new theory with a common sense that translates the new theory into practical action. Consequently, research is significant for fullness of life, for without new knowledge and new applications thereof life would become dull and monotonous and more and more pointless.

The quality and quantity of research has varied with the periods of past time. The methods of research have likewise varied, though ordinarily falling under one of

²¹ By Henry Lester Smith, president of the National Council of Education and dean of the School of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. *National Education Association. Proceedings.* 1926: 316-22.

the three heads, philosophical, historical, and experimental. It is the latter, or so called scientific method of research, that has been so fruitful of results during recent centuries and particularly during the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth. Some one has said that the old dawn of the scientific method was the museum of Alexandria. The method was revived under Roger Bacon, but came, only fairly recently, to its present prestige and promise.

Thus far the contribution of scientific research has been largely in the field of the discovery of new knowledge and its application, rather than in the field of propagation of this information through formal education. Research has spent itself in the field of discovery of valuable information rather than in developing economical and effective ways of bringing its discoveries into the possession of the whole of mankind. In other words, research has not concerned itself largely with the field of education. A continued piling up of new discoveries without a corresponding development of the means of propagating general enlightenment in regard to them is to a large degree futile. My plea, however, is not for less emphasis upon research for the discovery of new information and its applications, but for a further development of the method of research in the field of education; for a discovery, in other words, of better and more effective ways of selecting the best of all knowledge and of discovering better and more effective ways of giving the present generation full possession thereof. Much progress has been made in this latter field, especially during the last twenty-five years, yet, considering its importance, this field is still woefully neglected. Many more people of ability with constantly increasing funds and facilities at their command should be encouraged to enter this field of investigation and be amply supported in their endeavors therein.

Scientific experiment and research has made of the

nineteenth century and the first quarter of the present century a period of unprecedented readjustments. Because of the results of scientific research, whole industries have gone down, some of them to arise in modified form on the old site and some of them to be gone forever. Old occupations have been abandoned and new ones have been created to take their places. Sometimes the workers in the old positions were able to adjust to the new positions in the altered field of activity. Sometimes they were not able to do so. Consequently despair and hope were intermingled in the changes. The family circle of former years, such a complete unit for both occupational and leisure pursuits, has in more recent years been broken up by new discoveries which transferred the workers' activities from under the homestead roof to the broad floor of the factory, with masses of humanity in close proximity and with perpetually humming machinery on every side. From the home fireside or the neighborhood yard or the community picnic ground, has been removed the site of recreational activities. The motion picture show, the dance floor, the speedway, the municipal park, have drawn people into crowds for play and leisure occupation. Besides all this, new conceptions of the organization of matter and of the relationships of various portions of the universe to each other have been injected into our thinking. Modifications of views as to the origin, significance, and destiny of life and matter have resulted. Different notions of what constitutes truth, beauty, morals, right conduct, have grown up. Myriads of new facts about the operation of the laws of nature and of mind have evolved. These new facts and conceptions have added materially to the bulk of human knowledge to be conquered by the present generation, and to the compilation of individual, community, national, and even world relationships that have to be solved.

The task of education has, therefore, multiplied proportionately. These new facts about food, health, occu-

pation, communication, transportation, have to be learned. These new relationships, individual and mass, must be conquered. With the old educational organizations and methods, these tasks could be accomplished only by a noticeable increase of time devoted to the task. This increase in time is costly to the individual, who has to spend it in learning, and it is costly to the community, that has to support the individual in school at the same time that it is deprived of the contribution that his services would otherwise give. It is uneconomical to permit the rising generation to grow up ignorant of this new knowledge of facts and relationship; and it is uneconomical to have the youth spending time unnecessarily in gaining a working command of each. It behooves our people, therefore, to apply to education, even more diligently than ever before some of these scientific methods, whose application to other fields has been so fruitful of results, many of them most beneficial to mankind. That these new and valuable heritages may the more perfectly and swiftly come into the possession of the present day youth, improvement in our educational system must keep pace with the advance in general knowledge.

Up to the present time, money has been much more easily available for the discovery of new facts and principles than for their dissemination, except where dissemination was related to the material prosperity of those in possession of the knowledge. In the past, it has seemed more spectacular to make the discovery or even pay for making the discovery of a method of controlling some dreadful disease or of conquering transportation in the air, than to contribute to the dissemination of such new knowledge among the people. Dissemination tends to be left to commercial interests and therefore it is made only where it promises financial returns to the disseminators. In reality spectacular results are awaiting in the field of improved learning, which would quickly make a common possession out of the recently new. With the improve-

ment of instruction, an otherwise relatively dormant but potentially powerful fact, could be immediately and extensively operative. When this truth is generally grasped, money should be most generously available, not only through taxation but also through individual and corporate gifts, not alone for the support of our present educational institutions and educational practices, through which the old and the new facts of importance are disseminated, but most especially, for investigations into ways of improving our present educational practices. In the elementary and high schools of the United States we had enrolled in 1924 more than twenty-four million pupils. Nearly three quarters of a million more students were in the higher institutions of learning of our country. Gradually adult education is being extended and thus additions are rapidly being made to this vast multitude of learners. For the accommodation of this mass of people, hundreds of school buildings are being erected annually. An army of more than 700,000 teachers is employed for instruction and administrative purposes. For financing this educational program more than two billion dollars are spent annually. Education is, with us, a nation wide occupation, bulking large indeed in comparison with any other activity even considering those of greatest extent and importance. There is great need, therefore, for investigations that will throw new and better light upon the problem of the proper selection of material to teach to children and of the best project through which to further their individual development and individual acquisition. There is need for further knowledge about the pupils to be taught than we now have. Formerly it was thought that all should be treated alike. This thought assumed that all were equal in ability and characteristics. It was evident to the eye that not all were of the same height, weight, physical strength, and endurance but it was not so evident that they differed in native intellectual capacity and moral traits and ideals.

Such differences do exist, and they call for differences in treatment. Just what these differences are, and just what treatment best serves each type, we do not yet know in full. Much progress has been made in recent years in analyzing individual differences and in applying the instruction appropriate to these differences. But only a beginning has been made along this line. Much further research needs to be made and it takes laboratories, money, and workers to bring about such investigations.

The need for such research may be illustrated by recent discoveries of the length of the eye span in reading, and the consequently rapid development in the speed of reading due to studies as to the proper length of the line on the printed page and as to the development of proper habits of eye movement in reading. Again it has been discovered that many slow reading adults are slow because even in their silent reading, they unconsciously move the muscles of the throat as they would do in reading aloud and are thus held down in the silent reading to the same speed used in oral reading. It is readily seen that such a person is maimed as far as future efficiency is concerned, just as effectively as if he had lost an arm or a leg. He is only half a man in the field of reading. Every year are being made discoveries as significant as the above in education, but these discoveries are not coming rapidly enough to keep pace with the increasing demand for more information and for the development of an increasing number of habits and ideals as a control to conduct. Again I say there is great need for the development of an improved machinery for teaching the youth more in the same length of time than we have in the past; for with the increased amount to be learned, a lifetime would otherwise have to be spent in formal education before competency in the control of facts and relationships could be effected. Research must discover for us the better way, and thus economize, not only for the individual under instruction, but also for the

society at large that finances this instruction primarily in the hope that the instructed individual may thereby be better prepared to render service to the whole group.

But research is needed just as much in the field of the selection of subject-matter to be taught. The spelling books of a generation ago were encumbered with many words that the child would rarely if ever have occasion to use in writing. Today the spelling books tend to be made up wholly of words which children use in their daily written work. Not so fortunate have we been in selecting subject-matter in other subjects. By research we could do for these other subjects what has been done for spelling. Just as much progress has been made in the teaching of spelling words as in the selection of the proper words to teach, but still further progress is possible and necessary. It will take money and time and study however to unearth the proper avenues for such improvement. We need further studies to show us how to teach so that something more than a memorization of facts may result. The teaching should carry over into conduct. It is of little value to teach children in the physiology class the care of the teeth and the finger nails if the teaching results not in clean fingernails and clean teeth. It matter little that we teach maxims embodying fundamental statements as to proper conduct on the part of children if we still produce a generation that fails to embody these maxims in practice. There is need for the discovery, not only of the best things to teach the modern youth, but of the best time at which to teach it, the best methods to use to insure that the thing taught will stick in the memory, and, above all, that it will work itself out in every day conduct. It will take much research to push our frontier lines materially farther in these directions. But again I say there is not proper economy in a procedure that encourages the discovery of new information and develops new relationships, and does not, at

the same time, provide for an adequate way in which to put the rising generation in effective possession of both.

There has been too much willingness in the past to determine upon the educational needs and methods purely on the basis of opinion rather than upon the basis of investigation. Consequently both the teaching profession and laymen have been led to make rather freely certain broad but unproved claims for education, trusting that these claims would prove to be just ones. People have such general faith in education that they have been willing to accept these unproved claims on faith. The time has come for testing out all claims made for education, in order to determine which ones are valid and which ones are not. Some money, time, and brains spent along this line would doubtless effect a marked economy. Mankind was for a long time without the knowledge that infections were at the basis of many of our dread diseases. We were likewise without the information that the injection of the right kind of enemy bacilli into the system would in many cases prevent the development of the disease and in other cases lighten the attack. Inevitably through our school system we are indoctrinating children. We are introducing conceptions of individual conduct, family conduct, community conduct; assuming in the first place that this indoctrination is of the right kind and assuming in the second place that it brings about the result anticipated. Very little effective testing, however, has been done to determine the actual results.

In order, therefore, for education to do most effectively and economically what it should do, further research must be made leading to additional knowledge about the youth of the land who are to receive the instruction. Principles must be studied governing the processes of learning and concerning the immediate and ultimate effects of present day stimuli to which the youth of the land is exposed—such stimuli, for instance as emulation, hope, fear, and kindred others. Investigations should be

made to determine under what environment proper mental, moral, and physical growth is best assured. The science of biology holds out some promise of results along such lines of investigation, inasmuch as it has already revealed that, in plant and animal life, the medium, in which the growth takes place, modifies materially the character and form of that growth. Investigations should further be made concerning the qualifications, both personal and of a training nature, that the teachers of the youth of the land should have. Investigations should be made along the line of measuring the results of education, the immediate results and the ultimate results. Investigations should be made to determine both the favorable and unfavorable by-products that accompany education.

My plea is for a careful consideration of the need for research in education, and my hope is that individuals of ability will be stimulated to give of their time in furthering such research and that men and women, financially able, may see their way clear to contribute generously for the support of further investigations in this field.

May I re-emphasize the fact, therefore, that much of our money, time, and effort spent in research in pure science and in the applications of science to the ordinary activities of life, is largely lost, unless a way is found to develop through research procedure, a better method of determining how to pass this information on, not simply to the few for a limited time, but to the many for all time.

NEW IMPORTANCE ATTACHING TO CAUSE OF EDUCATION²²

America is turning from the mere thought of the material advantage to a greater appreciation of the cultural

²² From address of Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States. *National Education Association. Proceedings. 1924: 213-20.*

advantage of learning. It is coming to be valued more and more for its own sake. People desire not only the intelligence to comprehend economic and social problems, but they are finding that increased leisure is little more than time wasted in indulgence, unless an opportunity for self-development and self-expression has been provided in youth by the cultivation of a taste for literature, history, and the fine arts.

It is necessary also that education should be the handmaid of citizenship. Our institutions are constantly and very properly the subject of critical inquiry. Unless their nature is comprehended, and their origin understood, unless their value be properly assessed, the citizen falls ready prey to those selfish agitators who would exploit his prejudices to promote their own advantage. On this day, of all days, it ought to be made clear that America has had its revolution and placed the power of Government squarely, securely, and entirely in the hands of the people. For all changes which they may desire, for all grievances which they may suffer, the ballot box furnishes a complete method and remedy. Into their hands has been committed complete jurisdiction and control over all the functions of Government. For the most part, our institutions are attacked in the name of social and economic reform. Unless there be more teaching of sound economics in the schools, the voter and taxpayer are in danger of accepting vague theories which lead only to social discontent and public disaster. The body politic has little chance of choosing patriotic officials who can administer its financial affairs with wisdom and safety, unless there is a general diffusion of knowledge and information on elementary economic subjects sufficient to create and adequately to support public opinion. Everyone ought to realize that the sole source of National wealth is thrift and industry, and that the sole supply of the public treasury is the toil of the people. Of course, patriotism is always to be taught. National defense is

a necessity and a virtue, but peace with honor is the normal, natural condition of mankind, and must be made the chief end to be sought in human relationship.

Another element must be secured in the training of citizenship, or all else will be in vain. All of our learning and science, our culture and our arts, will be of little avail unless they are supported by high character. Unless there be honor, truth, and justice, unless our material resources are supported by moral and spiritual resources, there is no foundation for progress. A trained intelligence can do much, but there is no substitute for morality, character and religious convictions. Unless these abide, American citizenship will be found unequal to its task.

It is with some diffidence that I speak of the required facilities of the school in this presence. We are able to give more attention to the schoolhouse than formerly. It ought to be not only convenient, commodious, and sanitary, but it ought to be a work of art which would appeal to the love of the beautiful. The schoolhouse itself ought to impress the scholar with an ideal; it ought to serve as an inspiration.

But the main factor of every school is the teacher. Teaching is one of the noblest of professions. It requires an adequate preparation and training, patience, devotion, and a deep sense of responsibility. Those who mold the human mind have wrought not for time, but for eternity. The obligation which we all owe to those devoted men and women who have given of their lives to the education of the youth of our country that they might have freedom through coming into a knowledge of the truth, is one which can never be discharged. They are entitled not only to adequate rewards for their service, but to the veneration and honor of a grateful people.

It is not alone the youth of the land which needs and seeks education, but we have a large adult population requiring assistance in this direction. Our last census

showed nearly 14,000,000 foreign-born white persons residing among us, made up largely of those beyond school age, many of whom nevertheless need the opportunity to learn to read and write the English language, that they may come into more direct contact with the ideals and standards of our life, political and social. There are likewise over 3,000,000 native illiterates. When it is remembered that ignorance is the most fruitful source of poverty, vice and crime, it is easy to realize the necessity for removing what is a menace, not only to our social well-being, but to the very existence of the Republic. A failure to meet this obligation registers a serious and inexcusable defect in our Government. Such a condition not only works to a National disadvantage, but directly contradicts all our assertions regarding human rights. One of the chief rights of an American citizen is the right to an education. The opportunity to secure it must not only be provided, but if necessary, made compulsory.

It is in this connection that we are coming to give more attention to rural and small village schools, which serve 47 per cent of the children of the Nation. It is significant that less than 70 per cent of these children average to be in attendance on any school day, and that there is a tendency to leave them in charge of under-trained and underpaid teachers. The advent of good roads should do much to improve these conditions. The old one-room country school, such as I attended, ought to give way to the consolidated school, with a modern building, and an adequate teaching force, commensurate with the best advantages that are provided for our urban population. While life in the open country has many advantages that are denied to those reared on the pavements and among crowded buildings, it ought no longer to be handicapped by poor school facilities. The resources exist with which they can be provided, if they are but adequately marshaled and employed.

The encouragement and support of education is pe-

cularly the function of the several States. While the political units of the district, the township, and the county should not fail to make whatever contribution they are able, nevertheless since the wealth and resources of the different communities vary, while the needs of the youth for education in the rich city and in the poor country are exactly the same, and the obligations of society toward them are exactly the same, and then it is proper that the State treasury should be called on to supply the needed deficiency. The State must contribute, set the standard, and provide supervision, if society is to discharge its full duty not only to the youth of the country, but even to itself.

The cause of education has long had the thoughtful solicitude of the National Government. While it is realized that it is a State affair, rather than a National affair, nevertheless it has provided by law a Bureau of Education. It has not been thought wise to undertake to collect money from the various States into the National Treasury and distribute it again among the various States for the direct support of education. It has seemed a better policy to leave their taxable resources to the States and permit them to make their own assessments for the support of their own schools in their own way. But for a long time the cause of education has been regarded as so important and so preeminently an American cause, that the National Government has sought to encourage it, scientifically to investigate its needs, and to furnish information and advice for its constant advancement.

Pending before the Congress is the report of a committee which proposes to establish a Department of Education and Relief, to be presided over by a Cabinet Officer. Bearing in mind that this does not mean any interference with the local control, but is rather an attempt to recognize and dignify the importance of educational effort, such proposal has my hearty indorsement and support.

It is thus that our educational system has been and is ministering to our National life. Our country is in process of development. Its physical elements are incomplete. Its institutions have been declared, but they are very far from being adopted and applied. We have not yet arrived at perfection. A scientific investigation of child life has been begun, but yet remains to be finished. There is a vast amount of ignorance and misunderstanding, of envy, hatred, and jealousy, with their attendant train of vice and crime. We are not yet free, but we are struggling to become free, economically, socially, politically, spiritually. We have limited our amount of immigration in order that the people who live here, whether of native or foreign origin, might continue to enjoy the economic advantages of our country, and that there might not be any lowering of the standards of our existence, that America might remain American. We have submitted an amendment to the National Constitution designed to protect the child life of the Nation from unwarranted imposition of toil, that it might have greater opportunity for enlightenment. All of these movements are in the direction of increased National freedom, and an advance toward the realization of the vision of Washington and Lincoln.

A new importance is attaching to the cause of education. A new realization of its urgent necessity is taking hold of the Nation. A new comprehension that the problem is only beginning to be solved is upon the people. A new determination to meet the requirements of the situation is everywhere apparent. The economic and moral waste of ignorance will little longer be tolerated. This awakening is one of the most significant developments of the times. It indicates that our National spirit is reasserting itself. It is a most reassuring evidence that the country is recovering from the natural exhaustion of the war, and that it is rising to a new life and starting on a new course. It is intent as never before, upon listening to the word of the teacher, whether it comes from the

platform, the schoolhouse, or the pulpit. The power of evil is being broken. The power of the truth is reasserting itself. The Declaration of Independence is continuing to justify itself.

NATIONAL PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION¹³

One of the most striking examples of effective management of a national educational problem is that supplied by the Council on Medical Association. I refer to the classification of medical schools by this council. Without legal authority of any kind, the council transformed medical education in America. The classification which it made and enforced was based on such sound objective grounds that it was irresistible. This classification was strong because it grew out of careful study and intelligent insight and was backed up by adequate publicity.

A similar example can be found in the success of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This association began as a purely advisory body. It had no sanction from the states or the National Government. It had no promises from its constituent members that they would accept its standards; but it set up a system of approval of secondary schools and colleges which has become one of the most effective standardizing devices which the educational profession of this country knows. The strength of this association is in the objective character of its standards and in its constant publicity.

Turning to a study of state departments of education, we find that there has been a steady increase in the powers and influence of these departments. At first, the local communities had all the authority in the government of schools. The only functions of the state department

¹³ From address by Charles H. Judd, delivered at the annual meeting of the American Council on Education, May 7, 1920. *Educational Record*. 1: 118-31. July, 1920.

were those of compelling the community to keep school and advising in the direction of desirable improvements. Gradually the state enforced the improvement of buildings, compelled children to attend school, took over the certification of teachers, and established normal schools. Later the states began to exercise the power of managing the adoption of textbooks. The problems of higher education were taken up, both at the level of the secondary school and also at the level of the state university.

The states have also dealt with matters of financial support of schools. Grants have been made on a great variety of different bases and for many different purposes. One of the strongest motives for state participation in the management of school finance grows out of the recognition of the necessity of drawing revenue from larger units of taxation in order to equalize educational opportunity in the various parts of the state.

The successes and failures of the various efforts which are referred to in this brief summary of state educational activities ought to be carefully analyzed. Such an analysis would serve as a most useful guide in determining the steps by which the further evolution of centralization into a national form may properly go on.

Speaking quite dogmatically, it may be asserted that states have been fairly successful in dealing with such obvious and tangible matters as attendance, buildings, and certification of teachers. On the other hand, states have not been altogether successful in training teachers, in selecting text-books, in determining the contents of the curriculum, in organizing higher education, or in supporting research.

To this summary of experience in this country may be added a word about what has been done in Europe. This will bring out the sharp contrast between our systems and those across the Atlantic. Europe has succeeded far beyond the United States in setting up high standards for the training of teachers. Europe has abso-

lute control, through central authority, of the curriculum and of such text-books as are used. Europe succeeded long before we did in organizing higher education and fostering research. In other words, European organization does not wait for popular assent; it takes charge of the subtler as well as of the obvious phases of educational organization by virtue of the paternalistic authority which the government exercises over all aspects of the people's life. It is fair to infer from the example of Europe that some day we shall recognize education as an essential part of national life and that we shall deal, through our state departments of education and through a national department, with the subtler phases of education as well as with the obvious and tangible. The contrast will, however, persist. Europe comes at once to the full control of educational organization through authority arbitrarily assumed while we are taking the longer road of developing objective standards and cultivating popular intelligence to understand these standards.

The conclusion toward which this argument has been tending can be reinforced, I believe, by reference to the procedure of two Federal agencies now in existence which have had to do with American education.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education came into existence under circumstances which justify the statement that the American people had no real knowledge of its purposes. The board proceeded to adopt plans of highly dictatorial type and to put them into operation with the aid of Federal grants. I shall not venture to express a personal judgment as to the success of the work of this board. I shall record, however, the fact that a great many of the school officers of this country are of the opinion that the regulations of the board will have to be seriously modified or the board will have to be abolished. The rules of the board are such that it is not possible to use all of the Federal appropriation, and such portions of the appropriation as are accepted by school

systems are believed to be less productive than they might be if they were more wisely administered.

I cite these facts because I believe they show that Federal funds are not at all sure to solve our educational problems. Wisely directed supervision is quite as essential. The judgments of the Federal Board have not been acceptable to the states and we have no truly national policy of vocational education.

One can imagine a European system of vocational education put into operation by governmental fiat and governmental subsidy, but the Federal Board for Vocational Education has demonstrated very impressively that American schools do not take on vocational education by fiat or as a result of subsidy.

The other American Federal agency which I have in mind as throwing light on the methods of dealing with American schools is the Department of Agriculture. There can be no question that the Department of Agriculture has chosen a method of procedure better than that of the vocational board. This department began by developing its scientific investigations and by sending out into the schools supervisors who could report back as well as carry to the schools carefully prepared material. The influence of the Department of Agriculture has grown steadily, and the country has developed its notions about agricultural education under the guidance of a department that has been sympathetically supervisory.

With examples of this type in mind I believe it will be possible for such a body as the American Council on Education to outline a national policy. Our policy must be one of centralization by the gradual process of reference upward of our broadest problems. Our Government cannot assume responsibility for education until the responsibility has been passed up to it by the states and by the people, and it cannot meet its responsibility unless it has power to set up standards.

In general it may be said that a problem of educa-

tion may properly be taken up by a central educational agency when there is a recognized need for a broader view and a broader comparison than can be made by the smaller educational unit. The individual medical school, for example, is buried in actual routine and is struggling with the selfish problems of support. The medical council comes to the situation with a broader view, with that freedom from bias which always results from breadth. It finds a condition in which experience with the narrow point of view and its unsatisfactory results has prepared thinking people to refer up to a central organization the problem of supervising medical education so as to bring it to a higher and better level. The council comes into possession of its problems and its authority by a process of evolution and by a natural creation of a new and higher level of responsibility.

The formula yielded by this and the earlier examples is the true formula. A problem becomes a national problem when we can devise a higher supervision and a broader form of dealing with the problem.

Into the present chaos of experimentation and failure in matters of school finance must be brought new wisdom and a broader view. In 1913 the Bureau of Census made a most illuminating study of municipal expenditures with special reference to school expenditures. That study has been the surest and safest basis for the understanding of municipal school finance that has ever been laid down. Careful students and administrators have used it with eagerness and profit. There is no suggestion in that study that the Federal Government is going to pay one cent, but the study is a Federal contribution of incalculable importance made to the cities of this country.

The defect in that report is that it does not go far enough. It does not discuss the sources of school revenue with sufficient completeness to justify the formulation of any broad general policies such as would safely

carry us through the present period of stress. What we need is a national educational agency which will stand outside of all the actual routine of financing schools and will make a profound study of the matter and show states and communities what they must do.

To accomplish this the department must have the legal right to compel the states to give information if their schools are to be listed on the Nation's classified lists. It must then have sufficient equipment to deal with the information collected. After it has reached its findings it must be able to give them adequate publicity. There must be something more than the mere publication of statistical reports. This statement, I may remark, is not a reflection on the reports of the Bureau of Education. Those reports are most valuable. They are fully appreciated both here and abroad as the most complete school reports in the world. They are not adequate, however, because of the limitations on the equipment of the bureau for the service which I am advocating. My contention is that there should be a much more active communication with the people of the states regarding the financial conditions of their schools, much as there is today a complete publication of agricultural information.

The Federal Department of Education ought to have authority to go further than mere publicity. It ought to be authorized to set up certain standards. If it finds a state which is not supporting its school up to the proper limits of its ability the department ought to have the right to indicate its findings by a definite reference to its standards. This will not be possible unless the department is made strong enough to be unafraid of the politicians whom it will be compelled from time to time to offend. The law must be explicit therefore in authorizing the department to set up standards and systems of classification.

The higher institutions of this country were first organized in a form which made unnecessary civil super-

vision. With the multiplication of such institutions and the acceptance of all sorts of standards, a situation has arisen which calls for some kind of supervision. The Department of War, for example, is quite at a loss in its educational activities to know when it is dealing with a college and when it is dealing with a private high school masquerading under the name "university." If the Department of War is confused, the ordinary citizen is completely bewildered. The country has a right to know as much about its colleges as it knows about standard grades of wheat and cotton. A Federal agency ought to undertake the task of describing the colleges of the country so the public will know what each institution really is. A simple way of doing this, perhaps too simple a way, is to designate those colleges which are able to prepare students far enough so that they can properly expect to take the Master's degree in one year. Two Presidents of the United States have felt it their duty to withdraw from completion and circulation lists of the type described which were prepared by the Bureau of Education. There must be an important defect in our educational outlook as a nation if we cannot face the publication of such a list. A department of education debarred from dealing with this problem will not be in any true sense a national educational agency.

Another problem might be that of accurately describing our American normal schools. Very few states have been able to make progress with this problem. Yet there is an extensive interstate commerce in the products of normal schools.

The department might devise some method of giving to the people of this country the truth about text-books. We have had in every state much restrictive legislation on an industry which has as many interstate relations as any industry in the country. There is no agency now in existence which is competent to deal with this problem, and we are without information which is essential to intelligent action.

SECRETARY OF EDUCATION ¹⁴

If the proposed plan is to serve genuine educational ends we must have clear answers to certain questions. Is it designed to increase or diminish the power of the "administrators" who already overload our schools, from kindergarten to university, by comparison with the power of the teachers who teach? Four-fifths of the so-called "Americanization" work now carried on is an ignorant and narrow attempt to force our immigrants into the straitjacket of a provincial, materialistic, and inurbane "American" life. Is it for such work that we are to spend seven and a half millions, or is it for the mutual enrichment of their life and ours, and for the sturdy maintenance of the older American ideals that many have been so ready to forget during the war? Is physical education intended to make of the people good working cattle, or is it designed to develop the sound body that shall be the instrument of the sane, keen mind, serving the serene and honest spirit? In "equalizing opportunities," is it planned simply to have better buildings and to "raise the standard" of teachers by requiring a longer period of preparation? In a word, is the proposed Department of Education to be machinery, or is it to be embodied spirit? Is it planned to make our children think more or less alike? Is it intended to produce standardized citizens, guaranteed to think right when Washington pushes the button, or is it designed to train thoughtful, independent, kindly men and women, richly endowed in mind and spirit? That is the central question; it cannot be too carefully pondered, and the probable working of the proposed plan cannot be too narrowly examined with reference to its effect in this direction. For man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

¹⁴ From *Nation*. 108: 780. May 17, 1919.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION ¹⁵

National reorganization is not the only kind that is needed. This is a time for reconstructing the administrative machinery in the states as well. That reconstructing is generally needed and nowhere more than in the administrative machinery for conducting the schools of the state. Massachusetts, for example, requires that the work of every school shall be supervised, but has, as yet, provided but very little help from the state for those towns which are too poor to support their schools. The wealth of the state is not taxed to educate the children of the state, the state exercises but slight control over it, and as a result education is a Joseph's coat in Massachusetts. In Connecticut, apathy and indifference are the rule. Great masses of foreign born workers fill the towns. The foreigners have the children and the Americans, the property. The part which the state as a state plays in education is by no means as strong as it should be. California has a better system. But her State Superintendent of Public Instruction is elected by the people, and her State Board of Education appointed by the Governor. As a consequence, she has a two-headed school administration. The State Board of Education appoints three Commissioners of Education who are supposed to serve as deputies and assistants to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. It will be seen that the parts of this administrative machine have not been put together. The rural schools of the state are organized and controlled by districts. The districts are too small and too poor to make their schools going concerns. There is little supervision, little standardizing, and rather indifferent results. Every state has conditions of this sort to repair.

¹⁵ From article by Ernest Carroll Moore, State Normal School, Los Angeles, California. *International Journal of Ethics*. 29: 350-63. April, 1919.

PROVISIONS OF THE CURTIS-REED BILL ¹⁶

Section 1 establishes an executive department to be known as the department of education. This department is to be administered by a secretary of education, who shall have a status similar to that of other Secretaries of the President's Cabinet.

Section 2 provides for the appointment of an assistant secretary of education at a salary of \$7,500 per annum. There is also provision for a solicitor, a chief clerk, a disbursing clerk, and for other technical and clerical assistants.

Section 3 transfers the Bureau of Education from the Department of the Interior to the department of education, the secretary of education assuming the powers of the present Commissioner of Education.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education is transferred to the department of education. The board continues to exercise its present functions as a division of the department of education. The secretary of education is made a member of and ex officio chairman of the Board for Vocational Education.

The authority of the Secretary of the Interior with relation to the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Howard University is transferred to the secretary of education.

Section 4 transfers to the secretary of education authority and powers exercised by the head of any executive department over any bureau or office transferred by the act to the department of education.

All rules and regulations issued by any bureau or office transferred to the department of education, except those of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, which are unchanged by the bill, continue in effect until modified or repealed by the secretary of education.

¹⁶ United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Proposed department of education; joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000 and S. 2841. p. 189-90. February, 1926.

Section 5 provides that officers and employees of offices transferred to the department of education are transferred without change in classification or compensation; records and property of such offices are transferred to the department of education.

Section 6 places the secretary of education in charge of the buildings and other physical property of the department of education.

Section 7 creates the Federal conference on education, consisting of one representative appointed by the head of each executive department to coordinate the educational activities of the several departments and to recommend means of improving Federal educational work. The Federal conference on education does not report as a body to any one department; each representative reports the findings of the conference to his own department for consideration and independent action.

Section 8 provides that the department of education shall collect statistics and facts to show the condition and progress of education in the several States and foreign countries. In order to aid the people of the several States in establishing and maintaining more efficient schools and school system, in devising better methods of organization, administration, and financing of education, in developing better types of school buildings and in providing for their use, in improving methods of teaching, and in developing more adequate curricula and courses of study, research shall be undertaken in (1) rural education; (2) elementary education; (3) secondary education; (4) higher education; (5) professional education; (6) physical education, including health education and recreation; (7) special education for the mentally and physically handicapped; (8) the training of teachers; (9) immigrant education; (10) adult education; and (11) such other fields as in the judgment of the secretary of education may require attention and study.

The results of the research and investigations conducted by the department shall be made available to the educational officers in the several States and to other persons interested in education.

Section 9 provides for annual appropriation of \$1,500,000 to enable the department of education to carry out the provisions of the act. The unexpended appropriations of offices transferred to the department of education become available for expenditure by the department of education and shall be treated the same as if such offices had been directly named in the laws making the appropriations as a part of the department of education.

Section 10 provides that the secretary of education shall make an annual report covering the finances and describing the work of the department. He shall make such special investigations as shall be required by the President or either House of Congress, or as he himself may deem necessary.

Section 11 provides that the act shall take effect 30 days after passage.

AFFIRMATIVE DISCUSSION

REED-CURTIS BILL¹

This bill provides for just five outstanding things.

1. The creation of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

2. The consolidation of four existing and distinct federal units of education; namely, the Bureau of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the Columbia Institute for the Deaf and the Howard University.

3. The coordination of the educational activities now being performed under the several executive departments of the Federal Government.

4. The collection of "such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and in foreign countries.

5. An additional annual appropriation of \$1,500,000, or "so much thereof as may be necessary, for the purpose of paying salaries and the conducting of studies and investigations" above tabulated.

The most significant features of this bill are set forth in Nos. 1 and 4; namely, the creation of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the Cabinet, and the provision for research and investigation, the results of which shall be made available to the educational agencies and institutions of the several states and territories.

The creation of a Department of Education will bring under one directing head all of the units named in No. 2 and also coordinate the educational work of the several

¹ From article by Elmer E. Rogers, 32°. *New Age*. 34: 339-40. June, 1926.

federal departments named in No. 3. Service under No. 3 will be accomplished through a Federal Conference Board, to be made up of a representative from each of the departments. The function of this board will be to recommend ways and means of improving the educational work in the several departments, with special reference to the handling of subject matter and the eliminating of duplication.

Under the existing condition it is seen that there is no coordinating and directing head for education, the most fundamental function of organized society. H. G. Wells states that "civilization is now a race between education and catastrophe." The thought is now current with serious minded people that catastrophe is in the lead and our civilization is slipping. What are we going to do about it—let it slide or heed the handwriting on the wall? Certainly, we Masons who believe in light and yet more light, are not going to do the former. No; we will take heed. We will make a periodical survey of the educational world as outlined in No. 4. We will make the results of our research and investigations available to all our educational agencies throughout the country.

There are many avenues of research immediately and constantly required to keep us abreast with the demands of our complex civilization. The following are suggested, but they hardly scratch the surface.

1. Investigation of the most effective methods of teaching various subjects from the kindergarten to and inclusive of college work. The resources of such investigation are the public schools of this and foreign countries, also such other educational institutions as will lend themselves to the idea. The teaching process, like all other ways and means of doing things, is constantly undergoing important changes. It is necessary to the economic and social welfare of the individual, the state and the nation that the best methods be made the ideal,

and, as fast as determined, applied. The economic and social values are seen when we reflect that—

(a) Superior methods of teaching stimulate the student, render his work agreeable and thus encourage a larger number of pupils to finish their education; and

(b) The students will finish their work earlier and thus get into productive life sooner.

2. Investigation of the respective courses of study and their relation to the student's life work. Here is a very wide field for research. Its economic and social values can hardly be overestimated. Every phase of our national activities feels the need for a readjustment of school curricula to the bread and butter problem and to the problem of production and distribution of wealth, thus reducing to a minimum square pegs in round holes. Wells' statement above quoted is especially applicable to this phase of the educational problem.

3. Research with respect to business methods in handling school matters, such as

(a) Financing (bonding and taxation); (b) budget system; (c) accounting; (d) administering school property. The school systems of the country are woefully behind large private business concerns in this matter. Up to date systems applied throughout the country would save 5 to 10 per cent per annum, or approximately \$150,000,000 per annum.

4. Research with respect to the best types of school buildings adaptable to the various climatic conditions, with especial reference to heating, lighting, sanitation and cost. It will be noted that this phase of research carries with it two very important features—the health of the child and building cost. The best types of buildings for the various climatic conditions will be determined, plans and specifications provided and made available without cost to every person interested in the construction of such buildings.

A recent Secretary of the Interior said that, under the present conditions, it takes about twenty years for an educational idea to travel over the entire country. In the light of the importance of this question, could there be a more critical rebuke to the existing methods of collecting and disseminating ideas on education?

A Department of Education with a Secretary in the Cabinet would have the immediate ear of the President, of the Congress, of the Bureau of the Budget and of the people. The result would be provision for facilities of quick gathering and disseminating of educational ideas, the economic and social values of which are incalculable.

MEANING OF THE EDUCATION BILL²

It is well known that our policy in the United States, historically, has been one of State control of education. In spite of that control of education in the states, there has been in our history a large national interest in educational questions and problems because our people migrate so freely from point to point and because in the various parts of the United States the different experiments that have been tried in education have matured in fashions that deserve attention on a larger scale than could be given to those enterprises in the local communities. In other words, we have developed a national educational system whether we have a national control of education or not.

In contrast with the other countries of the world we have had a local school system and a series of local school systems; and I am very much convinced that this experience has left in the minds of all of us who are engaged in education the firm conviction that we should not set up in the United States any national control of

² By Charles H. Judd, Chicago University. *Journal of Education*. 103: 517-18. May 13, 1926.

education; and that is not the purpose of this bill. I think, on the other hand, we are all of us agreed that there is a democratic substitute for control. That democratic substitute is general information about the best practices that have been developed in our local communities. That distribution of information is a national function; and at the present moment it is not completely served. I offer you an illustration or two.

Many of our legislatures have passed laws for their own states, and in order to do this intelligently they had to collect information. It is true that in every state, in the legislatures, of the Union there is an enormous amount of duplication; but under our present system it cannot be helped and each legislature has to collect its own information because there is no central source to which they can turn for general information.

The expansion that would be necessary in the bureau in order to supply this deficiency has been commented upon, and I feel very clearly that if this committee does not favor a department we ought to join in urging a very great expansion of the bureau for the purposes that I have mentioned. It is, however, I believe, the thought of all of us who are concerned in these matters that a secretary in the President's Cabinet would be able in the councils of the nation by constant touch while these policies of a national type are under discussion to exercise a type of influence and secure a type of information that would not be accessible to any one who does not sit with the President in his councils.

The proposal has been made that we consider what would happen if the chief of the bureau had the full confidence of the President. I very much fear that that will not always be the case; but it strikes me that he who enjoys the full confidence of the President should have an opportunity to exercise that confidence and be present with him in his councils. That is not a function of a bureau chief; and a secretary could, we believe,

serve a larger purpose by being present and calling attention from time to time to matters that might otherwise be overlooked in the President's councils.

We hold, therefore, that our policy of local development of education means a type of democratic unification. That is not the type of unification exercised in the other countries but it is a type of unification which we have steadily grown toward in the policies of this Government. I think it is a logical extension, therefore, of the policy that has come to be adopted as a very natural consequence of our local separation of national interests in education that this suggestion is made; and I believe that the effort to bring about this national policy of information and investigation can be served in a measure by existing agencies, but it can not be served in full. Therefore, the logic of the situation is to accept the present administration of the usefulness of this sort of thing as a basis rather than objective and to accept it as the natural and logical basis for the expansion for which we argue.

It would be, in my judgment, a very great disadvantage, if every time a secretary came in he turned the department bottom side up. I do not think that the experience of the Federal departments should cause us to have any degree of anxiety along that line. I think the permanent office staff would constitute a permanent group and would supply the secretaries as they came in with the information and with general suggestions that would make it possible for him to utilize the vast experience of the department. Personally, I have not any anxiety along that line at all.

Far be it from me to be critical of any of our commissioners. I should say that in the aggregate we profited every time a new intelligence came into general control; and I think on the whole the accumulation of experience is of great advantage; but the changes that have been introduced have, generally, been in the direc-

tion of improvement. So I think there is a desirable element of improvement and stimulation in change of particular interest and particular direction of the department.

I am very enthusiastic about the work done by the Bureau of Education of the United States. I think the records now prepared by the Bureau of Education are far and away the best educational records in the world; and I think the interest of the present Secretary of the Department of the Interior is one of the greatest assistance in American education.

I believe, however, that the present Secretary of the Department of the Interior is engaged in so many enterprises that when he goes into the President's councils his mind must be full of a number of things; and I think if on each of these occasions when he sits with the President it were possible for him to concentrate his whole thinking on education, we could make more rapid progress in that particular direction than is possible to be gotten when education is sandwiched in with the multiplicity of concerns which must fill his mind.

I heard a member of the German Reichstag who had been in this country say: "You have the worst schools in the world. You also have the best schools. Now, the great difficulty with you is that with most of our other civilizations all the schools are uniform. You have them so varied that in the long run you are able to choose the best ones."

I think that represents the situation pretty well. We have some very poor schools in this country; we have schools very much in need of information; but we also have some of the best organized institutions of learning that the world knows anything about; and I believe that if we had some central agency that could make us aware of our virtues and that could point out with perfect fairness and accuracy the results of some of our local experiments, that we could bring about exactly what we

want, and certainly it would be a step in the direction of making our schools the best institutions.

While it is true that our expenditures in education in this country exceed those of other countries one would certainly realize the reasons for it after one had visited the schools of these other countries. It is very common on the continent to have classes in the elementary schools of 100 or even more pupils in a single class under a single teacher.

I have no criticism to make of the general campaign to eradicate illiteracy. I do not believe that the type of literacy that results from attendance at many of the foreign schools is at all comparable with the type that we know in this country. I do not believe that our literacy problem is to make people read a few lines, but that it is important that they shall be able to read constantly and intelligently and a great deal. It is my belief that we are teaching reading in this country better than they do in any place in the world.

A proportion of 1 to 10 is not considered a high degree of illiteracy; but as a result of effort along the lines of education, which have involved extensive research work, that figure has been reduced to 1 in 300; so you can appreciate the great advance we have made in this country and will appreciate that that is one of the major reasons why our expenditures are high. We are not stopping with literacy; we are carrying it forward to the true opportunity of democracy, which is an equal share for all of the people in higher education.

It is my own personal belief that American education ought to be open to inspection and to record in whatever form it is carried on. I serve in an endowed institution which is sometimes called a private institution. I do not believe that the functions of that institution can be properly carried forward unless its records and unless its whole career is made an open book to the public. I am in favor in every instance of making educational

activities, as far as I am concerned, clearly and definitely open to public inspection.

I am not in favor of Federal aid for schools. I opposed the earlier bill frankly and openly, and before a hearing in the House of Representatives. I do not believe it is necessary. I do not believe it is desirable. The present bill has the enthusiastic support of a number of those who were entirely opposed to the older bill in the form in which it was drawn.

There are two items that would come before the Director of the Budget. One would be for Federal subvention for State institutions, and the other would be for investigations.

As far as investigations are concerned, it is my belief that the amendment offered to the bill reducing the amount of money that is suggested to be expended by this department is unfortunate. The drafting of this bill was carefully worked out after investigation of what is expended by those departments that spend money in investigating material affairs; and I think that \$1,500,000 would in nowise make the department effective; and, therefore, it seems to me that from that point of view—not from the point of view of Federal subsidies, but from the point of view of maintenance of the department, it is desirable that the secretary should have direct contact with the Director of the Budget.

WANTED: AN ACTIVE COORDINATED GOVERNMENT BUREAU OF EDUCATION^{*}

The Federal Government is engaged in two essentially different types of activity. The first type—and the one we most commonly think of when we think of the government of the United States—is represented by the set of activities that are necessary for the organization and protection of the United States as a national entity.

^{*} From article by Dr. Samuel P. Capen, chancellor, The University of Buffalo. *Annals of the American Academy*. 129: 97-101. January, 1927.

Such things, for example, as raising revenues, conducting foreign relations, providing for communications throughout the country, administering justice and providing for national defense. In the prosecution of all of these activities the government must exercise mandatory powers. It always has exercised them. It cannot exist unless it does. If necessary it must back up its decisions in these fields with all the physical force of the nation. These activities are coeval with the life of the nation and they are represented in the structure of the government today by the older group of departments—Treasury, State, War, Navy, Post Office, etc.

However, as the nation grew and its life became more complicated, and as modern inventive genius brought new devices to civilization, the Federal Government was forced by the pressure of its citizens to concern itself with another set of activities entirely different. This set had nothing whatever to do with the organization and protection of the United States as a nation. It is the group of activities which roughly might be classified as productive or creative. In dealing with these the government has evolved—and I think largely by accident—a quite different technique.

The activities that I have tried to classify as creative are such activities as agriculture, commerce, labor, health, social welfare, science, education. Some of these already are represented in our administrative machinery by separate executive departments. But how have those departments on the whole proceeded? Their job has been very different from the task of the older departments. It has consisted largely of promotion, of stimulation with either no control at all of the interests concerned or with very little control. Or stated in other terms, the function of the government has been primarily to furnish facts and information, to solve problems, and to coordinate the work of many individuals and groups within the states through outstanding national leadership. Think

back in your minds over the history of the Department of Agriculture, or the Department of Labor. The Department of Agriculture originally had no mandatory powers. It was an information office, the business of which was to inform the agricultural interests of the country, to solve some of its scientific problems, to persuade the individual members of that great interest to improve their processes. The same was certainly true in the beginning of the Department of Labor. The Labor Office was an office for the ascertaining of facts, the solution of problems, and it had no administrative jurisdiction.

I said a moment ago that it may have been largely accident that the departments dealing with the creative activities of the nation had no powers in the beginning. At any rate, it seems not to have been clear to Congress that they should never have any powers, because of late years there has grown up a tendency to give to the Department of Agriculture, to the Department of Labor and to the Department of Commerce, laws to enforce, subsidies to distribute and regulations to carry out. In my own private judgment the helpfulness and influence of those governmental organizations has been weakened every time any one of them has been endowed with a new set of powers. Now if you agree with me that there is this distinction in the activities of the government, and that the technique of the government should and ought to be essentially different in prosecuting these two types of activities, then it is patent that if Federal influence in education is extended, as many people wish to see it extended, there must be very clear recognition of the limitations on the government's proper sphere of action in this field.

We have been told that the Federal Government does various things in the field of education. I do not know just how many Federal offices at the moment deal with education. When I was connected with the Government

some six or seven years ago there were about forty different Federal offices with educational functions, most of them making some kind of appeal at times to the educational system of the states. The majority of these enterprises were rather inconspicuous and I know that some of them have since been abolished. But we still have several different important centers of educational work in the government establishment. The one that comes to everybody's mind first is the Bureau of Education, which was created some sixty years ago and the principal function of which is to collect information, to disseminate it, and to make such studies of educational problems and situations in the United States as it is able to make. It is a small office in the Department of Interior, very inadequately equipped for its task. Then there is the States Relations Service in the Department of Agriculture, a very large and potent office, which distributes subsidies under the Smith-Lever Act, directs the experiment stations and is in general in charge of the agricultural educational efforts in which the government interests itself. Further, there is the Federal Board for Vocational Education, which distributes more subsidies under the Smith-Hughes Act and makes more investigations. It has a good deal of power. I might mention others, but these are the most conspicuous and they will serve by way of illustration.

Now is the service that we get from those several agencies sufficient and is that sort of organization satisfactory? I think the answer of the educational profession has been emphatically "No" to both of these questions. That kind of service is not sufficient and certainly the organization is very far from satisfactory. The profession is not animated by a fanatical desire to federalize everything. Its leaders are not mere Utopians who think that if they can get money out of the government they can overnight improve the educational enterprise of the country. They are dissatisfied because the thing the

government has already set out to do is done so badly and inadequately.

I think it is fair to say that the profession—all of the profession and a good share of the lay public as well—now want from the Federal Government three things that are certainly not provided. The first thing they want is coordination of the government's own effort in this field. They want to have these several offices at least on speaking terms with one another and at the moment they have absolutely no relation to one another. No one of them knows what the other is doing. They carry on their activities as if they were in different countries and often the suggestions and instructions emanating from them are mutually conflicting. If the government is going to spend a good many millions of dollars a year on education, as it now does, then the profession and the understanding lay public want to see the governmental enterprise better organized. We want some scheme of consolidation.

The second thing we want is provision for carrying on large scale investigations of educational questions. In the end, all our principal educational problems become national problems. There is a constant reference upward out of the sphere of local inquiry until the great questions have to be studied nationally. We have no facilities whatever at the moment that are commonly within reach of the members of the public or of the profession for getting our great problems studied. What do we do now if we have an important question that we wish to have investigated, a question that affects the country as a whole? We go to the educational foundations and beg for a subsidy. Practically all of the important educational problems of the last ten years that have been studied nationally have been studied under grants from the Carnegie Corporation, or the General Educational Board, or the Commonwealth Fund, or some other educational foundation. These studies are all very expensive. Their

cost is likely to run from \$50,000 to \$200,000. They require an expert personnel which has to be assembled for the purpose. It is a tremendous piece of work for the profession to get one of these national investigations launched and get it completed. In view of these difficulties and of the importance of such studies, we desire an agency to which the profession can turn, that the profession in a sense owns, to perform these great national tasks as they present themselves.

Let me cite a few examples of the kind of studies I have in mind. Immediately after the war with the change in the purchasing power of the dollar, probably the most pressing problem for schools was the financial problem. What should we do about it; on what level must the schools be supported in order to live, with this wholly different economic base? Finally the American Council on Education got \$200,000 from four different foundations and set a commission to work on that task and the Educational Finance Inquiry was made. There was a good deal more delay than there should have been and the auspices, although as suitable and effective as any, were certainly no better than would have been a proper government agency. Again, every time the N.E.A. comes together it discusses the curriculum. The curriculum question is a national question. We have no means either of investigating it nationally or of bringing together and distributing nationally the results of local investigations.

The third thing that I think both the educational group and the lay public desire from the Federal Government is leadership. That is a little more difficult to define. As we know, leadership is where you find it. It resides in human beings and not in bureaus or institutions. But when a great national study is made only half the task is done. It has to be interpreted. It has to be made to tell or else its influence is certainly cut in half. What some of us would like to have connected

with the government in the field of education is a kind of personal leadership which will make as effective as possible the scientific investigations which the government carries on. Occasionally we have secured such leadership in the United States Bureau of Education. Leaving recent history wholly out of account and simply citing the past, such leadership was there when William T. Harris was Commissioner of Education. What some of us would like, then, is to have a national agency set up that would appeal to a William T. Harris, if we could find another one, as a worth-while post from which to exercise his great talent.

REED-CURTIS BILL ⁴

Sound administration demands the unification and co-ordination of educational activities. This can be done only by establishing a single national governmental agency. For this purpose three plans have been proposed:

1. The enlargement of the present Bureau of Education to include the Federal Board for Vocational Education and all the educational activities of the various units, sections and divisions now scattered throughout seven of the major departments of the national government. This plan has not met with any enthusiastic support due to the peculiar diversity and importance of the educational services rendered. The enlargement of the Bureau to carry all these diverse activities would create an organization equal in extent to that of the Labor Department or the Department of Justice. All the essential organizing processes would have to be set up without the values and importance to education which would accrue under a department with a secretary in the President's Cabinet. Education, under such an organization, if at all feasible, would still occupy a back seat in the

⁴ From article by Elmer E. Rogers. *New Age*. 34: 403-6. July, 1926.

affairs of our national government. The same difficulty of getting adequate appropriations to carry on the most essential work of the Bureau would obtain in the future as in the past.

Dr. John A. H. Keith, president of the State Normal School, Indiana, Pa., and one of the foremost educators in this country, has had many years' experience in trying to get appropriations through Congress for educational purposes. In reply to a question from Senator Copeland at the recent joint hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. Senate, and the Committee on Education, House of Representatives, Dr. Keith said:

You cannot expect in a government such as ours that the Bureau of Education shall suddenly become the special pet of Congress. The Bureau of Education as a unit of the Department of the Interior can never go forward with *anything* except by the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, because what comes before Congress is the budget for the Department of the Interior and not some one primarily interested in the welfare of the Bureau of Education. The Bureau has no access to Congress. It has not the ear of Congress. It has not the ear of the President, nor indeed the ear of the people.

A glance at the tabulation of estimates and appropriations for the Bureau of Education will show the soundness of Dr. Keith's contention. Congress seldom appropriates enough to meet the estimates submitted by the Bureau. At the above hearings Senator Copeland who favors the enlargement of the Bureau, made the statement that the teachers should pick out the particular pieces of research required, come to Washington and tell Congress what they wanted. To this Dr. Keith replied:

Senator, have you thought about what that would cost and who is going to pay the bill? You know, as I know, that to come here and appropriately present a request for a \$25,000 appropriation to carry forward one small bit of educational research and get it passed through a Congress could not be done without an expenditure on the part of those who are interested in it, bringing their people here, getting out their literature, circularizing Congress, paying their expenses while here in town, for less than \$10,000.

2. The establishment of a Federal Board or Commission of Education, this board or commission to be directly responsible to the President and similar in organization to the Federal Trade Commission or the U. S. Shipping Board. The proponents of this plan argue that it would be free from politics. Personally, we do not see the force of this argument. Members of such a board or commission would be appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. Undoubtedly these appointments would be inviting plums for "lame ducks," irrespective of the high educational qualifications required of the appointees.

Some of the advocates of this plan base their views upon its analogy to the relationship between state and city boards of education. The relationship of the national government to education is far from being the same as the relationship between the state and local government. State and city boards are responsible for the selection of teachers, for the levying of taxes, adoption of textbooks, decisions as to courses of study, methods of administration, and in general, the control and supervision of the schools. The Federal Government cannot and should not be given the power of control or administration of the schools. This power is and must ever remain in the states. In the words of Dr. George D. Strayer, a well known educator and professor of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City:

The functions of a national agency (department) of education are to promote and to encourage education by conducting such inquiries or investigations as will lead to the development of a more efficient system of public schools, and sustain and build up this most important function of democracy in the councils of the nation. A national educational agency should be advisory and stimulative through the scientific study of educational practice and of educational conditions on a nation-wide and world-wide scale, rather than executive, directive and administrative. Those who base their arguments for a National Board or Commission of Education on its analogy to state and local boards, it seems to me, fail to keep clearly in mind the distinction of the relative functions.

3. A Department of Education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet. Such a department would not be productive of fancy, luscious plums for "lame ducks" (in usual acceptance of the term). It is true that the Education bill provides for two Presidential appointments, the secretary and the assistant secretary, but no President would have the temerity to appoint men to these places who did not hold very high rank in the educational affairs of our country. The other major positions provided for are a solicitor, a chief clerk and a disbursing officer. These positions come under the classified service. The bill abolishes the office of Commissioner of Education and places the duties of this office upon the Secretary of Education. The Federal Board for Vocational Education is transferred to the Department of Education and all functions are to be performed by it as a division of this department.

From the viewpoint of comparative costs between proposal No. 2 and proposal No. 3, assuming that the research and consolidation program of the Reed-Curtis bill would be carried out, plan No. 3, or a Department of Education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet would cost less by approximately \$25,000 per annum. A comparative cost between proposal No. 1 and proposal No. 3 assuming that the research and consolidation program in the Reed-Curtis bill would be carried forward, plan No. 3 or a Department of Education with a secretary in the Cabinet would be more by approximately \$50,000 per annum. However, the mere money difference of \$50,000 is a small item if we compare the relative administrative efficiency of a department with a bureau, to say nothing of the prominent position which *education* should hold in a republic.

The following is a resolution passed unanimously by the Council of State Superintendents and Commissioners of Education at the recent convention of the National Education Association in Washington, D. C. Thirty-two

members were present. Some of the members of this council who favored the resolution were not present.

We recognize the principle that the responsibility for the determination of educational policies and for the administration of the educational program rests with the states. With this prerogative the National Government must not interfere. Quite beyond this, however, there is a pressing need in the Federal Government for a department of education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet.

The inefficient and ineconomical lack of administrative organization which has scattered educational activities throughout a score or more departments and bureaus can not be condemned too strongly. It is wasteful and unbusinesslike. Not only for these reasons but for the larger service which a department of education would render to the National Government and to the various states is a national clearing house of educational thought essential. Commerce and labor, war and naval affairs, the postal service, and international relations—these and others are of large importance; but even more fundamental and underlying all of these public interests and activities is the training of youth for citizenship.

In accordance with these principles, this council pledges its continued support to a department of education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet.

Dr. Keith, previously quoted in this article, closed his statement before the joint hearings in the following colloquy with Dr. Copeland, Senator from New York State:

We feel that on the basis of consolidation of federal educational activities and the extension of research, such procedure deserves departmental recognition in this American government of ours; not a department that exercises sovereign power and control, but a department that serves broadly the commonwealth and the common aspirations of this country; and in this feeling we do not wish to interfere with religious liberty; we do not wish to interfere with state and local control and autonomy in education at all—oh, there is nothing of that nature in it (the bill). Those who fear and through their fears get out of this bill any notion of a centralization of authority over education in the states at Washington are letting their imaginations or fears run away with them. Now, of course, people can become afraid of anything. Is not that right, Doctor, if they think about it enough? (Speaking to Senator Copeland.)

SENATOR COPELAND: Yes; and it will kill them if they get afraid enough.

OPPOSITION TO CURTIS-REED BILL ⁵

Comment in certain quarters as to the proposal of the Curtis-Reed Bill often takes the form of rather hysterical denunciations of the plan on the ground that thereby a great innovation was being presented to our people. In fact, very frequently the attacks upon the bill are nothing more nor less than vivid perorations bemoaning the invaded rights of the states, flaying the bill for its alleged tyrannous interference in local affairs and entreating the public to resist staunchly all such unprecedented assaults upon the public treasury.

The fallacy of the entire contention that there is in the theory of the Curtis-Reed Bill anything that is novel has often been pointed out in these columns. It is but an extension into a new field of the same type of federal support and encouragement that has for generations been extended other worth-while enterprises of the American people. At the risk of repeating much of what has been said before, it has been thought that it might be well to briefly point out that many of the great departments of the federal government are engaged in promoting other private interests vital to the nation even as the Curtis-Reed Bill would promote education. The Presidential Cabinet, as now constituted, consists of ten members. Of these, the Attorney-General, who is the legal adviser of the government; the State Department, in charge of foreign affairs; the Treasury Department, directing our finances; the Postmaster-General, conducting the great system of which he is the head; and the War and Navy Departments, having charge of the defenses of the nation, may properly be said to be engaged primarily in governmental duties, strictly so called.

However, most, if not all, of the duties of the Departments of Commerce, Agriculture, Labor and of the Interior, each of which is headed by a Cabinet officer,

⁵ By Paul R. Kach. *New Age*. 34: 275-6. May, 1926.

are but to supervise, promote and encourage the activities entrusted to their charge in much the same manner as it is intended by the Curtis-Reed Bill that the eleventh member of the Cabinet shall assist and increase the general welfare by directing and encouraging public education.

The duties of the Department of Agriculture are, as need hardly be stated, confined largely to disseminating information throughout the nation relating to the problems of agriculture and seeking ways and means of increasing the prosperity of our farmers by assisting them in finding markets for their products.

The Department of Labor feels free at all times to intervene, so far as it may, in important labor disputes whenever they arise, and is constantly engaged in collecting statistics looking to the improvement of the conditions of labor and the general well being of the nation.

The Department of Commerce lends its aid to merchants at home and abroad whenever it may, and seeks to collect statistics and information which may prove of value to the commercial interests of the country generally.

The Department of the Interior, among its many other duties, has played no small part in the reclaiming of the public lands in the west by erecting immense irrigation projects and has throughout its history, either alone or in conjunction with the states, been constantly engaged in carrying on valuable enterprises such as the building of roads, the extension of our transportation system and the wise distribution of public land, thereby seeking to increase the happiness and physical prosperity of our people.

The foregoing very brief reference to the activities of certain of the great departments of our national government, which have been recognized by membership in the Cabinet, suffices to make clear how equally well it could have been said, and, in fact, may now be said, that

these activities, or most of them, could very well be carried on by the states and that the extension of support and encouragement to them has had its effect on our governmental expenditures and tended to extend the control of the national government into the intimate daily affairs of our homes and business.

However, in other generations it has been found expedient to extend federal support and assistance to these activities and many more similar projects that one more familiar with the intimate operations of our government could mention. If our farmers, workers and business men are legitimate objects of federal aid, and it be legitimate to expend for their benefit some portion of the national funds, can it be said that the children of the nation are so unimportant and undeserving of our sympathy and assistance that it is wrong and improper to place them in the same favored position, if it be such? If big business receives federal support from the Department of Commerce, labor from its department, and the farmers from the Department of Agriculture, is education worth less consideration? Is the reason education has not received attention heretofore been due to the fact that those interested in its promotion could not command the same political support and power that labor and business exerted? If so, it is time for enlightened public sentiment to demand a better accounting of our public funds.

Education is the most important function of a government. Public education is the corner-stone of Americanism. It is entitled to first consideration, and certainly those advocating at this late day that it receive the same attention from our government as has heretofore been extended through many generations to commerce and industry may not justly be condemned as bringing an innovation before the people, nor as advocating that which should shock the American conscience. Rather should the narrowness of their petty prejudices plainly

condemn those who would oppose so worth while a measure!

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ⁶

All agree that one of the most striking features of recent American school practice is the rapid spread of fact-finding investigations and experiments. A *science of education* is in the making. The results achieved are continually making it clearer *that facts control education*. When Detroit has demonstrated by objective tests that certain procedures in teaching in arithmetic make children more skillful and accurate in number work in less time, no other authority is needed to make Cleveland adopt the new practices.

As soon as one grasps the significance of the working hypothesis that in a country such as ours facts control education, the nature of the problem of education assumes a totally different aspect. . . The problem becomes one of creating a suitable agency for intelligent collection, classification and dissemination of facts. The office (or governmental agency) must also be so manned that it is competent to use discretion in the selection of facts that are both valid and significant.

FEDERAL CONTROL IMPOSSIBLE

The requirement that facts selected by the federal education office (a department of education) be valid and significant makes it difficult if not impossible for that office to usurp any unwarranted power over education, because significant facts acquire power in proportion as the number of cases that evidence their validity increases. When an alleged fact is found on trial to be incorrect, its vitality vanishes. Besides, the fact-finding enterprise (a department of education) stimulates cooperation for

⁶ Extracts from statements of Dr. Charles R. Mann, director of the American Council of Education. *New Age Magazine*. 35: 220-3. April, 1927.

the common good among many independent agencies without impairing in any way the autonomy of each. This is so obvious that educators are rapidly coming to agree that a properly constituted fact-finding federal office could not, if it would, either drag education under political control or impair the powers of the indestructible states.

A second significant conviction that is now universally accepted is that in a republic, schools are but part of the machinery of education. Newspapers, magazines, movies, radio, sports, automobiles, industry, commerce—all these and many others play vital roles in developing men who are capable of self-government. In the early days of the republic we had a continent to conquer. The pioneer spirit was essential to survival. Necessary chores helped educate the people and kept them out of mischief. Now this is all changed. The situation is so complex that illuminating facts and reliable information are needed to inspect and guide team play for the common good.

TASK TOO LARGE FOR INDIVIDUAL STATES

The task of collecting, classifying and testing all the information that is needed is too large for any local state or voluntary organization. Each individual group must be active in finding and studying the facts of its own environment. But the significant facts of local life must be united in a national picture which, by comparing trends and tendencies, would arouse the sporting spirit of local groups to compete for honorable mention for distinguished service in realizing more fully our national ideals.

Consideration of the two generally accepted theses just stated—namely, *that facts control education*, and *that education is far broader than schooling* leads to a continually deepening realization of how indispensable education is to the stability of our political institutions. *Therefore education as here defined may well claim rank in the*

National Government equal to that accorded to Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. The true functions of these departments are no more executive and administrative than are those of education. All are essentially research and news distributing agencies, enlightening the public by collecting and disseminating significant and valid information of wider scope than any state could secure by itself alone. By their constructive influence on American life, they have fully justified the wisdom of establishing them.

* * *

In my previous appearances before this committee (Joint Congressional Committee on Education) I opposed the bill, providing for a department of education, and in the last hearing my opposition took the form of suggesting certain particular amendments to the bill that was then under consideration. Those amendments have all been made in this bill. There was only one that I suggested which has not been incorporated in the present bill. Therefore, I am appearing today in favor of the bill *because I am convinced that it is the next important step in the development of education in America*, under educational conditions as they exist here today, and in a way that is in thorough harmony with our constitutional principles and with the psychological principle I raise, of men, who can be self-sufficient and govern themselves.

The fundamental difficulty that I see, in listening to these arguments, the fundamental point on which people seem not to understand the bill and the way it will work is connected with the failure to realize the actual situation in education today. We have developed in the last fifteen years, as has been pointed out, *a science of education*. This science of education studies facts. It is operating according to the principles of all other sciences, and, as in the other sciences, it is the facts that control the situation, and it is quite impossible for individuals to control the situation in opposition to the facts. In any activ-

ity, when you have reached the scientific point of development where the facts control, you have, by that process, liberated men and not bound them.

The natural sciences, like the science of engineering, have not enslaved men by their discoveries and their control of facts; they have liberated men, and we now fly and communicate with one another in ways that were unheard of before the control of facts was introduced.

That same principle, the control of the activity by facts, is now spreading into business, and in a recent decision of the Supreme Court that control of large groups of corporations by a fact-finding bureau was approved as in the interests of the public welfare and in harmony with our Constitution, and not in contravention of any of the anti-trust laws.

Education is following business in its fact-finding processes.

The particular situation in which we find ourselves is this: During the past ten years the increase in secondary school attendance has been fourteen times as rapid as the increase in population. Therefore the schools are simply crowded to the limit, and the educators have to deal with a large increase of pupils by the older method and without corresponding increase in funds.

In the second place, the public demand of education has changed, particularly since the war. In the last century and the first ten or fifteen years of this century, the public demanded of the schools that they take the children *and teach them by the standard, or the usual curriculum in the schools*. The system was that the schools had set up the standard curriculum *which all children went through*, and the public *did not question the validity* of the school procedure when it made a *great many of those children repeat the work*. As the expression goes, we weeded out a great many because they were incompetent; that is because they *did not meet the traditional and academic standards of the schools*.

That action of the schools was accepted by the public as a matter of course. No one seemed to criticize it. But during the war a great change came over our people because, I think, everyone was trying to find out what he could do in the public service. It was brought home to us as a nation *that everyone can do something useful for the public service if he can only be given a chance*. I mean the public today is demanding that the schools shall find out *what every child is good for*; shall create conditions under which the child will discover for himself what he can do and what line of development is most appropriate for him; and the schools supply the conditions whereby that individual can realize his individual capacities and develop them in the public service.

Now, that is a vastly more difficult and intricate and exacting requirement of the schools than merely to have a fixed curriculum and let the child go in and see whether he measures up to it or not. *The only way in which the schools are going to be able to answer that and to realize that demand satisfactorily, is through scientific studies which are now going on*. Therefore, in addition to the large load on the school in numbers, there has been placed this changed public demand in what the schools shall teach and do, and the only way in which it can be done is through *this scientific study of the facts which is called for, and for which we want the department created in this bill*.

It has been asked here a great many times why we need a department for that purpose rather than the present bureau. May I, in passing, say that I concur with all who have gone before me in commending what the Bureau of Education has done. Particularly in the last few years the development has been very significant, and the present Commissioner of Education is doing a very constructive piece of work. He is doing all that is possible for any man to do with the limitations—financial limitations. At the present time the Bureau of Education, as

it was brought out here this morning, has an appropriation of \$220,000 to operate the bureau and to carry on its statistical and other work. That budget is about the same as the budget of my organization. We are doing a great deal of research, as much as we can for that sum, and this is a privately controlled and privately organized organization that I am working with.

It has been asked several times, why do not the professional educators outside of the Federal Government, come and ask Congress for appropriations for specific purposes? Has the Bureau of Education ever tried to get larger appropriations?

Speaking as a civilian educator, my answer to the first is that we feel that we will start suspicions as to the Commissioner of Education, that he is working through us to get money that he does not get through the regular channels, if we come to you and ask you for appropriations for the bureau.

The Commissioner is entirely precluded from any opportunity of presenting any claims or any requests or any suggestions for appropriations through the Congress. It works in this way. The President assigns to the Department of Interior a certain limit of its budget. The Secretary of the Interior has to distribute that over all the units of the Interior Department, and if he adds anything to the Bureau of Education he will have to take it away from something else. There is a very distinct position at the present time in the Federal Government that any bureau chief who is not in sympathy with the policy of the Budget and the way it is set up at the present time should, in the language of the Director of the Budget in one of his recent speeches, "enlist under a different banner." I doubt if any of you gentlemen could get from the Commissioner of Education a statement of what he would like to do, unless you go through the President, the Director of the Budget, and the Department of Interior; and that is perfectly proper.

Now, so long as you have that chain of connections between Congress and the Commissioner of Education, I do not believe you will ever get any significant requests, or requests for significant investigations, involving the money that is necessary to carry them on. Therefore, the Commissioner is so far removed in governmental organization that he cannot get the request before you, and we are reticent to do it because it would at once come back, and they would say, "The Commissioner is not doing this himself, but he has got his friends to do it for him." Therefore, there is not the machinery for getting those facts before you.

There are two cures for that situation: Either you can alter that machinery, or you can create the department which will handle this independently, and the question then comes up for independent consideration.

MR. BLACK of New York. Do you really believe there is enough demand for this sort of information to warrant the creation of a new department of the Government?

DOCTOR MANN. I was just coming to that. That is my final point. The scientific control of education necessitates the gathering of facts on a very wide scale.

MR. DOUGLAS. Facts about what?

DOCTOR MANN. Facts about methods. I might answer that by a specific example. We are conducting in my office an experiment on the validity of psychological tests.

MR. DOUGLAS. Do you believe that a special bureau is necessary for that?

DOCTOR MANN. Yes, sir. Just a minute. These scientific facts that are being gathered are about how to determine children's reactions to various forms of instructions; how to determine the various kinds of mater-

ials that are useful in bringing certain information to children; how to determine the best methods of reading; and by the studies that have been made that were presented here this morning in that pamphlet, the time of teaching children to read has been very materially reduced. That is the result of a great many months of study, with a great many children. You might get, on a few children, results by a certain process, and you try it on another group and it does not work. You only get valid conclusions on that when you have a large number of children.

The rural-school teacher, by way of illustration, cannot get those facts herself. She has only eight or ten or twelve pupils. She is the most handicapped person in getting the benefit of this scientific study, because she is not in line or in touch with what is going on and cannot get the information under present conditions.

Now, if the rural-school teacher could have placed at her disposal in a proper form the results of the investigations on reading, on writing, on arithmetic, and on other things that are now available, it would enormously help her to do a better job. I can conceive of no other way in which we could help the rural schools more than to bring to the rural schools the results now already secured by the scientific study of education. That is the direct benefit that the rural schools would get from this work.

MR. BLACK of New York. The city school systems are all in pretty good shape?

DOCTOR MANN. They are vastly better; and as was stated this morning, for instance, in New York City, with its 800,000 or 900,000 pupils, there are enough children there to make a valid conclusion, but in a small school system, not.

And there is another point that I might mention. The way this works is this. It is controlled by facts.

The city of Detroit some years ago began a series of experiments on the teaching of arithmetic. They devised what we call an objective test, which measures whether children can or cannot do arithmetic well. They discovered by those tests in unequivocal facts—a simple objective result—that the children in the Detroit schools were not learning their arithmetic well and not doing it well. They went to work and found out where the weaknesses were and devised new methods of handling the arithmetic teaching, and they published those facts. The city of Cleveland takes them up right away and introduces them. Why? Did anybody tell the city of Cleveland to do that? Not on your life.

There are 330 school systems of the United States at the present time engaged in a cooperative experiment on the revision of the curriculum. Each town has a committee with the school teachers and groups or committees of the school teachers that are discussing among themselves what are the best things we can use under the local conditions here to get better instruction in the schools. Everyone is working on his own initiative. What it needs to improve more rapidly than it can do by itself is the information as to what other school systems are doing and the results that they are getting. If all the information of those 330 school systems was gathered together and a report printed, with a digest of all their results, it would be an enormous stimulation to teachers to go right on with that work.

Now, the more reliable facts that are distributed in that way, the greater is the incentive to self-activity, initiative, self-organization of your own community. It is not a federalizing process, such as has been stated here, but exactly the reverse.

MR. DOUGLASS. You would not, of course, have a department of education that would force opinions?

DOCTOR MANN. Oh, heavens, no! The only things that may force opinion or mold opinion are facts. Facts control. Liberty is harmony with law, and the truth will make you free.

MR. HOLADAY. Is there anything in this bill, or in what might grow out of this bill if it were enacted into law, that will in the future in any way interfere with the rights and privileges and progress of any of those institutions that are included in your organization?

DOCTOR MANN. Absolutely not; but quite the contrary. If this bill went into effect and the secretary of education and the department of education began to do the things that are called for there on a large scale, it would be the greatest incentive to all the educational institutions to self-activity, to govern their own affairs and build their own curricula so as to get results that are better than their neighbors'. It would introduce a spirit of competition.

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE¹

One of the first advantages of bringing together like services is in securing a simpler government. Our National Government is now on such a vast scale that it is very difficult for the general public to get any comprehensive conception of its activities or of the particular services performing them. It is likewise a matter of no little difficulty for Congress itself to secure this information and properly to perform its function of legislating and appropriating for the government. Any action that will simplify the Government will thus facilitate the practical operation and the use of its services by the general pub-

¹ From address by William F. Willoughby, delivered at the annual meeting of the American Council on Education, May 7, 1920. *Educational Record*. 1: 107-17. July, 1920.

lic. Secondly, a proper coordination of the administrative services will help very much in what is called overhead administration. It is perfectly evident that when a secretary of a department, like the Secretary of the Treasury, for example, has to concern himself, not merely with finance but with public health, public buildings, war risk insurance and a number of other matters that do not relate directly to his financial responsibilities, he cannot perform his duties as general administrator as effectively as he could had he to concern himself with only a single class of closely related duties.

Thirdly, the bringing together of related services makes possible the realization of great economies and the securing of greater efficiency in the performance of what may be called the technical business or housekeeping duties of government. If the activities of government services are analyzed it will be found that they fall into two classes: those concerned with running the services as institutions; that is, conducting correspondence, handling supplies, keeping accounts, rendering reports, etc., that have to be done in order that the services may exist and operate; and those that have to do with performance of the work for which the institution exists. Now economy and efficiency are to be secured primarily in respect of the first class; that is, the purely business, housekeeping duties of running the services. If all the services under a common head are working in the same field and have the same general character of problems, all of those business activities can be performed with far greater efficiency. The chief clerk, the disbursing officer, the chief of the division of supplies, etc., are all dealing with the same set of problems; one officer can frequently perform the duties for all the services; and uniformity or standardization of methods can be secured. This is difficult, if not impossible, when the services under a department are of a diverse character.

Fourthly, a far more effective utilization of plant;

such as libraries, blue-print rooms, laboratories, and of facilities generally, can be secured if services working in the same field can be brought together under a common direction, and better still, under a single roof. In many cases it will be found feasible to make use of a single well-equipped library, laboratory or blue-print room in place of a number of less well equipped, but, in the aggregate, more expensive plants.

Finally, a systematic grouping of administrative services makes possible the formulation of general work programs that cannot be framed when services are scattered among the different departments according to no logical plan. This phase of the problem is one in which I am especially interested at the present time.

WHY THE NEW EDUCATION BILL SHOULD BE PASSED⁸

I. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IS IN LINE WITH THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

A. It leaves the control of education to the states.

Education is not listed in the federal constitution as a function of the national government. Education, according to the provision that all powers not specifically given to the federal government are reserved to the states, is a state function. The control of the schools rests with the states.

The wisdom of this policy is recognized by the terms of the bill, and the creation of a Department of Education would strengthen rather than weaken this principle.

B. It continues a policy accepted from the beginning and continued throughout the nation's history—that the

⁸ From pamphlet "Case for the New Education Bill," (S. 291. H.R. 5000; 69th Congress). 67p. National Education Association. Washington, D.C. February, 1927.

national government should not control education, but should assist the states in its promotion.

From the beginning of the nation's history the federal government has assisted the states in their development of public schools. In the ordinance of 1785, before the adoption of the Constitution, the Continental Congress led the central government into important connections with education by reserving lot number 16 of every township "for the maintenance of public schools." This ordinance was the beginning of a continuous and now well-established policy whereby the national government has encouraged the development of public schools. Public lands have been set aside to aid in the advancement of public education. The state agricultural colleges and experimental stations are the outgrowth of federal interest in educational development. Vocational education has rapidly progressed in recent years largely due to the encouragement offered the states by the national government in establishing this form of instruction. The United States Bureau of Education has for over half a century collected educational statistics and offered other services to state school systems. These are a few of the directions in which the federal government has promoted educational development.

The time has arrived when an important step should be taken to coordinate and increase the effectiveness of the educational work already carried on by the national government. This can be done by establishing a Department of Education. This Department would not control education in the states but would offer certain services to the state school systems, which they need and request, and which only a federal education office can provide.

The establishment of a Department of Education, therefore, is not a new departure. The nation, since its beginning, has encouraged the development of public schools. The creation of a Department of Education is but a logical step in a policy, the wisdom of which has

been clearly demonstrated. Nor is the establishment of a Department of Education out of harmony with the evolution of the whole scheme of national government.

C. The establishment of a Department of Education would offer to education a needed service similar to that already provided to other major national interests by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

The logic of establishing a Department of Education is evident if one considers the history of the development of our national government.

Originally there were three executive departments. In the first year of its existence, namely 1789, when the United States consisted of a group of colonies on the Atlantic seaboard with an area of less than 900,000 square miles, Congress created three departments: State, War (including navy administration), and Treasury. The population of our country at that time was approximately 3,900,000.

As our frontier was pushed westward and our population increased, new governmental functions were undertaken. To carry out these functions new agencies were established in the regular departments. From time to time certain offices were given departmental dignity and their incumbents admitted to the Cabinet. For example, the Navy Department was established in 1798. The Postmaster General, in 1829 was elevated to Secretarial rank and made a member of the President's Cabinet. The Attorney General's office was transformed into the Department of Justice in 1870.

The need for these new executive departments of government is apparent when we consider the development of the United States both in area and population. The Census in 1870 shows that the area of the United States had increased to include over 3,000,000 square miles and the population was approximately 31,500,000 as compared with 3,900,000 in 1789 when Congress first met.

Briefly, the origin of a new department was as follows: "As functions of a similar nature accumulated, they were grouped in one organization, perhaps supplemented by new functions, and collectively transformed into a department." In the case of the Department of the Interior, created in 1849, certain more or less unrelated activities that had been in other departments were brought together in one department. These diverse activities included: Indian Affairs and Pensions from the War Department, the Patent Office from the State Department, and the Land Office from the Treasury Department. Since that time other sundry and diverse activities have been added to this department, including the Bureau of Education.

The Secretaries of these seven Departments: State, War, Treasury, Navy, Postoffice, Justice, and Interior, in 1870 were in charge of the administration of affairs over which the Federal Government had control under the provisions of the Constitution. It was then thought that there would be no further additions to the President's Cabinet.

Department of Agriculture established. In response to the urgent demands of the agricultural interests of the country, a Department of Agriculture was created in 1862, but not under a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. It was placed in charge of a commissioner, with rank and salary below that of the other departments. The opponents of the creation of a Department of Agriculture in Congress argued that inasmuch as the federal government had not been granted authority by the Constitution to control agriculture, it was illogical, if not unconstitutional to create such a department. Those who favored the creation of this new department conceded that the federal government should not control agriculture, and that they did not wish such control; but they claimed that it was within the province of the federal

government to promote agriculture, and that because of the importance of the subject from a national standpoint, agriculture should receive such recognition. The latter viewpoint was accepted as valid.

The department grew rapidly in influence and usefulness. Farmers and others interested in agriculture thought that good could be accomplished with a representative in the President's Cabinet. Therefore in 1889 after the Commissioner of Agriculture had remained outside of the President's Cabinet for 27 years, Congress passed a law raising the Department of Agriculture to the same rank as other departments in charge of a Secretary in the Cabinet, with the title, Secretary of Agriculture. In the creation of the Department of Agriculture the precedent was established of having a Department with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet for the promotion of an interest of recognized national importance, over which the federal government was not given control under the provisions of the Constitution.

Department of Commerce and Labor created in 1903, and separated into two Departments in 1913 because of unrelated interests. The business interests of the country started a movement for the creation of a Department of Commerce with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet to represent and promote the great commercial interests of the country. Labor interests sought the creation of a Department of Labor with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. In 1903 Congress responded to these demands by the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor. Ten years later, in 1913, this Department was separated into the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor, each under a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

Three departments of the federal government have been organized, not for the control but for the promotion of social and economic welfare. The arguments

made in Congress in support of the creation of the Departments of Commerce and Labor were the same as those made in support of the creation of the Department of Agriculture, namely, that they represent interests of such great national importance as to deserve this recognition, and that the purpose of the department should be not to control, but to promote these interests. It is clear, then, that of the existing federal departments some administer affairs over which the federal government has control under the provisions of the Constitution, and that others exist not to control, but to promote the interests of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. The purpose of public education is the development of an intelligent citizenship. This is as important to the welfare and perpetuity of our American institutions as is the promotion of Agriculture, Commerce, or Labor.

The creation of a department of education would be in harmony with the precedent established in the creation of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. Public education at present costs more than two billion dollars a year. Already in some states one fourth of the population is enrolled in public schools. Approximately thirty million of our population daily give the best part of their working hours to imparting or receiving the training of the schools. Ample testimony is given in subsequent sections to show that the schools are less effective than they might be and that their efficiency could be increased by the service they could receive through a Department of Education. No single interest is of greater importance to the nation's future welfare. The time has come for the creation of a Department of Education which will render to education services comparable to those now so effectively rendered to other outstanding national interests by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

The establishment of a Department of Education would be clearly in line with the historical development

of our American governmental system. The economic and social welfare of all the people of the United States is as certainly determined by the progress we make in education as by the activities promoted and encouraged by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. This fact justifies the proposal that a Department of Education be added to the second class of federal departments named above.

The transfer of the present Bureau of Education to a Department of Education would be in accordance with the history of several other Departments as has been shown above. It was pointed out that when the Department of Interior was created, to it were transferred a large number of diverse activities. Educators are now urging that because of the vital importance of Education it be made a separate Department.

II. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WOULD INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CONDUCTING THE EDUCATIONAL WORK WHICH IT NOW PERFORMS

A. By providing for the coordination in one department of important educational activities for the federal government that may logically be brought together.

At the present time educational work costing several millions of dollars a year is scattered among a number of federal departments. Below are listed some of the educational activities of the federal government with the yearly cost of each, as shown by the 1926 *Digest of Appropriations*:

Bureau of Education work conducted in the District of Columbia	\$222,800
Educational work in Alaska	489,593
Federal Board for Vocational Education.....	8,227,000
Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts.....	2,550,000
Columbia Institute for the Deaf	113,000
Howard University	591,000

The coordination of certain activities of the federal government in education in one department would result in greater efficiency.

This is accomplished by the Education Bill which provides for the transfer to the Department of Education of the Bureau of Education and of the Federal Board for Vocational Education with the provision that this Board shall operate as a division of the Department of Education, and that the Secretary of Education shall be a member of this Board and ex-officio chairman of it. The bill also provides that the authority, powers, duties, conferred and imposed by law, upon the Secretary of the Interior with relation to the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Howard University be exercised and performed by the Secretary of Education.

The need for better coordination of existing educational work of the federal government is indicated by the following statement by Frank Pierrepont Graves, State Commissioner of Education, New York.

The need of a Federal Department of Education has long been recognized. The unbusinesslike administration of the several educational activities of the federal government, scattered as they are throughout various departments and bureaus, is not only wasteful but must result in inefficiency and lack of effective service. These evils of administration will never be corrected until a unified Department of Education has been organized. The larger service which this department should render to the government and to the public will never be fully realized without a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet.

B. By providing a plan for the immediate and continuing coordination of all educational activities of the federal government without infringing upon the complete autonomy of those activities, which, because of their nature, must continue to be administered by different departments.

Provision is made for the coordination of federal education activities, not transferred to the Department of Education by the terms of the bill. A Federal Confer-

ence on Education is created which will consist of one representative from each federal department. This body will not report as a group to any one department, but each representative shall report the findings of the federal conference to his own department for consideration and action.

A plan similar to that provided for in the bill has already been used in the case of the Federal Council of Citizenship Training, which has now been active for nearly three years. This council was created by executive order in 1923. The essential characteristic of this conference is that it does not have authority to put its findings into operation, but that each member of the conference reports its findings to his own department for independent executive action.

This plan has worked well and has resulted in a co-ordination of certain work of the departments without interfering with their executive autonomy. It has been a means of avoiding duplication of effort and coordinating action. It has thus furnished a practical demonstration that this plan of securing cooperation among executive departments actually works. It is applied to all federal educational work by the bill and is given permanency and dignity of an enactment rather than that of an executive order.

The creation of a Federal Conference on Education will meet the general demand that the educational activities of the Federal Government be coordinated. At the same time it recognizes that certain educational functions of the Federal Government must continue to be independent. It is obvious that the War Department must operate the summer training camps and their educational activities involving civilians, and that the Department of Agriculture is best qualified to manage the experiment stations and so on. Yet the demand for coordination is insistent and must be met.

Both needs are met by the bill which brings together

federal educational functions that logically should be together in one department, and provides for the effective coordination, according to a principle already demonstrated to be practical, of other educational activities which obviously must continue in the different executive departments.

III. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WOULD STRENGTHEN RATHER THAN WEAKEN THE PRINCIPLE THAT SCHOOL CONTROL IS A MATTER OF STATE AND LOCAL CONCERN

A. Because there is nothing in the terms of the bill which would give the Department of Education any administrative control of the schools.

The principal purpose of the measure is to provide an agency to collect facts and to conduct research to aid the several states *in establishing and maintaining* more efficient schools. The wording of the bill assumes that the states will continue to be the controlling agents in the establishment and maintenance of public schools.

The results of the research and investigations which the department is to "make available to educational officers in the several states and to other persons interested in education," does not imply control of education. This information may be accepted or rejected according to the decisions of the several states. It is true that this information would doubtless vitally influence educational development, in fact the strongest argument for the bill is that the collection of such facts will result in the maintenance of more effective public schools. This influence will be voluntary rather than compulsory, however. State and local school systems and private and parochial schools will continue to exercise final control as to the direction of their educational development.

It is unjustifiable to contend that the collection and

dissemination of information whereby any great public enterprise may be conducted more effectively implies control of that enterprise. Growth by the trial and error method is not an essential prerequisite to freedom. It is not ignorance but the truth that makes men free.

The farmer is not controlled by the Department of Agriculture because this department conducts investigations of tremendous value when applied to farming processes. As a result of the work of this department the productivity of the farmers of the nation has been increased by millions of dollars yearly. Greater educational efficiency without control can similarly be effected by a Department of Education.

B. Because the ability of state and local school officers to conduct efficient schools will be substantially increased.

Nothing will do more to cause the American people to hold fast to the valid principle that schools should be controlled by the state and local communities than evidence that such control results in the provision of efficient schools. The services rendered by a Department of Education would significantly increase the ability of local and state school officers to conduct efficient schools. Rather than representing a step toward the nationalizing of education, the creation of a Department of Education would do much to strengthen local and state control of the schools.

C. Because state school officers recognize a Department of Education would not interfere with their control of the schools, but would render them needed service.

The attitude of state school officials is expressed in the following statement by A. T. Allen, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, North Carolina :

This bill, as I see it, does not confer any authority on the proposed Department of Education in Washington to regulate in any way the administration of education in the several states.

Each state would continue to be as free as it is now to provide for the education of its own children in its own peculiar way without let or hindrance from the federal government. It could still develop its efforts in public education along any line that might seem wise to it and the federal government, under this bill, could do nothing about it. On the other hand, the information collected and disseminated by the federal government as provided in the proposed act would be of great service to the various administrative officers in the states.

IV. THE TYPE OF SERVICE A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WOULD CONDUCT HAS NOT BEEN AND CANNOT BE SUCCESSFULLY CARRIED ON BY STATE AND LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS

A. No state has yet established an agency capable of rendering the service which a Department of Education would offer.

How little is the likelihood that such an agency will be established by any state is indicated by the following quotation from a recent statement by Payson Smith, State Commissioner of Education of Massachusetts.

A federal department will render a great service to the states by providing adequate research facilities. In no American state has there been established under public auspices a research agency with adequate appropriations. There is little likelihood that the legislatures of the states or indeed a very considerable minority of them will at any time in the future establish such agencies. If they were to do so, there would be much waste of money since in the field of education most of the problems to be studied are not restricted by state lines.

B. State and local school systems cannot command the necessary resources.

Almost none of the 48 State Departments of Education and but few of the thousands of local school districts that administer education in the United States are able to obtain substantial appropriations for educational research on educational problems of national significance. Such funds as are obtainable are usually only adequate for the conduct of local studies directly bearing upon

some immediate local school problem. It is unlikely that state or local systems will ever be able to obtain the funds essential to the conduct of important fact-finding studies of nation-wide significance and involving the cooperation of great numbers of school systems.

C. State and local school systems cannot command the necessary prestige and cooperation.

Something more than money is necessary to the conduct of educational investigations of nation-wide significance. The organization undertaking such work must enjoy a prestige such as goes only with a national agency. At any one time it is impossible for one State Department of Education to gain cooperation in the conduct of an investigation from the other forty-seven departments. At the present time literally thousands of "questionnaires" are mailed out each year by local school systems. This plethora of inquiries has become such a nuisance that many school systems make a practice of disregarding practically all requests for information. It is an unusual question blank that receives a reply from a third of the school systems addressed.

A Department of Education could expect to command the prestige that would result in general cooperation on investigations of major interest to the whole country. One collection of facts would be sufficient and would make unnecessary many of the scattered efforts made by state and local school systems to obtain vital educational information.

D. Wasteful duplication of effort with poor results occur when school systems attempt the nation-wide fact-finding investigations which a department of education should conduct.

When state and local school systems attempt to bring about a coordination of the results of educational research or to conduct studies distinctly national in interest and

scope, waste is the inevitable result. The following quotation appearing in Charles A. Beard's *American Government and Politics*, well describes the situation at present existing in education, although his statement is made with general federal research in mind:

Modern science makes rapid strides in every field. It is expensive to make experiments. It is difficult to keep up with the sweep of events. So there arises the question: How can we make available to the humblest official in the most out-of-the-way place the results of the best thought, the greatest scientific achievements? Such results are beyond the reach of the local authorities, except in rare instances. If each of the forty-eight states makes its own researches, there will be an immense duplication of effort. Indeed, this is what happens regularly. Often there are ten or fifteen expensive state commissions engaged in investigating the same problem. Hence, it seems reasonable and natural that the National Government should come into the field with its greater financial power and wider prestige and make available to state and local governments the fruits of the most advanced scientific research.

V. THE SERVICE WHICH A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WOULD RENDER CANNOT BE EXPECTED FROM AN ENLARGED BUREAU OF EDUCATION

A. Only a department of education can hope to command adequate financial support.

Public support for research is always difficult to obtain. This is particularly true in education for several reasons.

First, the layman finds it difficult to think of education as other than a guesswork procedure. He cannot see how educational research can be of any help in improving the work of the teacher any more than the average citizen fifty years ago could see how medical research, by such men as Pasteur, could improve the work of the doctor.

Second, the layman fails to realize that new burdens are being placed on the school which cannot be adequately met in the absence of research in education. He forgets

that many children today have no opportunity to perform the necessary chores at home that once constituted an important part of the education of all children. Life has changed so rapidly and has become so complex that education will fall far short of what is expected of it if it continues according to the old guesswork procedure.

Third, adults are affected by clumsy work in other fields. When schools use hit-or-miss methods children are the sufferers.

Fourth, education finds it difficult to command resources for scientific investigation because its dividends are deferred. If a business creates a valuable product the returns are relatively immediate. The dividends produced by the school are not realized, however, until the children under its charge have attained maturity.

For these and similar reasons it is extremely difficult to obtain public support for educational research.

The difficulty of obtaining public support for educational research is nowhere better illustrated than by the history of the appropriations which Congress has seen fit to make for the work of the Bureau of Education. This history is indicated in detail by the figures in Table 1. This table shows that the appropriations made for the Bureau of Education have failed to keep pace with the sums that the people of the United States have made available for public schools throughout the nation. Bureau of Education appropriations in the five-year period 1880-1884 were fifty-two thousandths of one per cent of the sum spent for public schools. Bureau appropriations in 1920-1924 had dropped to thirteen thousandths of one per cent of public school costs.

A steady decrease is likewise revealed in the ratio between Bureau appropriations and public school costs.

When the sums expended for public schools are corrected for the fluctuation of the dollar, we may say that the purchasing power of public school expenditures increased over four hundred per cent between 1890 and

1922. During the same time the purchasing power of Bureau of Education appropriations increased but sixty-five per cent.

TABLE I.—COMPARISON OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES WITH ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR U.S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION—FIVE YEAR PERIODS, 1870-1925

Years	Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary schools	Appropriations for U. S. Bureau of Educa- tion	Per cent Bureau ap- propriation is of ex- penditures for public schools
1	2	3	4
1870-1874.....	\$363,031,504	\$116,700	.032
1875-1879.....	401,302,046	159,760	.040
1880-1884.....	450,590,957	235,465	.052
1885-1889.....	596,219,504	256,485	.043
1890-1894.....	780,492,436	284,650	.036
1895-1899.....	941,438,021	303,950	.032
1900-1904.....	1,205,423,596	313,690	.026
1905-1909.....	1,709,022,809	322,520	.019
1910-1914.....	2,432,487,677	402,000	.017
1915-1919.....	2,009,855,927	380,300	.019
1920-1924.....	4,425,143,925	562,680	.013

Not only has the financial support received by the Bureau failed to keep pace with that which the people of the nation have made available for its public schools, but it has also lagged behind the increase in the nation's wealth and income, as Table 2 reveals. Between 1880 and 1922 national wealth increased six fold; national income increased eight fold, and Bureau appropriations but four fold. During this same period public school support increased nineteen fold. A similar tendency is revealed by the figures for the period following 1890.

These figures are the more striking when considered in relation to two other facts. First, education as a science has come into being in the last quarter of a century. Never before in our history have research and fact-finding inquiries been so important to the progress

of education. Second, the organic act creating the Bureau aimed to set up an agency whose primary function is the conduct of fact-finding investigations.

TABLE II.—NATIONAL WEALTH AND INCOME, PUBLIC SCHOOL EXPENDITURES, AND BUREAU OF EDUCATION APPROPRIATIONS, 1880-1900-1922

Years	Wealth	Income	Expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools	Bureau of Education appropriations	Per cent that Bureau appropriations is of		
					Wealth	Income	Public school expenditures
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1880...	\$43,642,000,000	\$7,391,000,000	\$78,094,687	\$36,720	.000084	.00050	.047
1900...	88,517,307,000	17,965,000,000	124,964,618	61,270	.000069	.00034	.029
1922...	320,803,862,000	68,447,000,000	1,580,671,296	183,760	.000057	.00027	.012

It is plain, therefore, why the work of the Bureau of Education has not fully met the demands. During a period when the particular work which the Bureau was created to perform has greatly increased in significance in the field of education, the provision for support of the Bureau has lagged. Bureau appropriations increased less rapidly than the nation's wealth and income and much less rapidly than the amounts that the people of the nation have appropriated for public schools.

These facts reveal why so much of the work of the Bureau has necessarily been limited to the relatively inexpensive, routine collection of statistical information, in a period when scientific investigation has played a major role in educational progress. The resources of the Bureau have been inadequate to the successful acting of a role which it, as the Federal Government's agency for research in education, should have played.

The fact that the Bureau of Education has been starved in a period when, had it been given adequate support, it might have made a much more substantial contribution to educational progress, is not due to lack of vision on the part of our Commissioners of Education.

Some of the outstanding leaders in the field of education have held the office of Commissioner of Education. Without success they have striven for adequate support. The record of their unsuccessful efforts may be traced in their annual reports.

Why is it that the Bureau of Education has been unable to obtain funds for educational research when millions have been available to conduct important investigations in other fields closely tied up with the nation's welfare?

The explanation is found in the location of the Bureau of Education submerged in a great Federal Department whose interests are not primarily educational. It is too much to expect that the Secretaries of the Interior, chosen for their ability effectively to direct the expenditures of millions of dollars for such purposes as the reclamation of the public domain, and the disbursement of pensions, should, at the same time, have a sure grasp of the rapidly developing field of education. The present Secretary of the Interior has shown unusual interest in the Bureau of Education. Yet, the work of the Bureau of Education claimed less than one-tenth of one per cent of the appropriations of the Department of the Interior for 1926.

A government officer with the rank of a Commissioner of Education has no power to present his requests for appropriations from Congress except by going through a number of superior officers—the Secretary of the Interior, the Director of the Budget and the President. The result is that the needs of the Bureau of Education receive inadequate consideration. They are always presented and defended by an officer whose attention is given primarily to matters other than school needs.

The inadequate support that the Bureau of Education has received from Congress is a logical outcome of this situation. The Secretaries of the Department of Inter-

ior in most instances have not understood our educational situation and our Commissioners of Education, understanding the educational situation, have not been permitted to ask Congress for the support necessary for the successful development of the work for which the Bureau was created. These facts constitute the fundamental weakness of the suggestion that the work neglected to date be developed by an enlarged Bureau rather than by a Department of Education.

B. Only a department of education can hope to command the prestige essential to the successful development of those educational functions the federal government should exercise.

The fact-finding investigations, which each year are more essential to intelligent school progress, of the type which a federal education office should undertake, often involve the cooperation of forty-eight state departments of education and of literally thousands of local school systems. Only an agency enjoying the prestige of a Federal Department can expect to bring thousands of autonomous school systems into programs of voluntary cooperation.

We have already recognized that if the research conducted in such fields as agriculture, commerce, and labor was to be effective, it would have to be the concern of a Federal Department whose secretary was recognized as a spokesman for the particular national interest concerned. Can anyone imagine that the Secretary of Commerce would have been able to gain the cooperation of the industrial forces of the nation in eliminating waste if his position had been that of the chief of a minor bureau located in a department whose primary concern was not the advancement of the nation's commercial welfare?

The prestige which a Federal Department enjoys has a definite practical significance. This is far more than a question of giving education its "place in the sun." Education has always been and should always be under

local control. Yet there are some educational functions that can be successfully discharged only on a national basis. The response to this situation might be that which many foreign nations have made—the control of education by the central government. This solution of the problem in the United States would be rejected almost unanimously by laymen and educators alike. The alternative is the creation of a Department of Education, whose prestige will make possible the successful discharge of the federal government's educational functions on a voluntary basis. Thus, the local autonomy of our schools will be preserved and at the same time the educational investigations so vital to school progress will not be lacking.

C. Only a Department of Education can secure the prompt consideration of the findings of educational research essential to educational progress.

General education procedure lags far behind the best practice. We know how to conduct better schools than we do conduct. The reason is that the nation lacks adequate machinery for disseminating educational information. The results of an important educational investigation completed in a university or of an important educational development in a particular school system, reach local school officials less promptly than is desirable. Often the successful solution of a school problem in a particular community receives little attention, except locally, unless the local superintendent is a person of unusual energy, with sufficient spare time to carry on a publicity campaign. Too often the solution found does not become generally known for several years. In the meantime, thousands of school systems miss an opportunity to profit from an improved school practice.

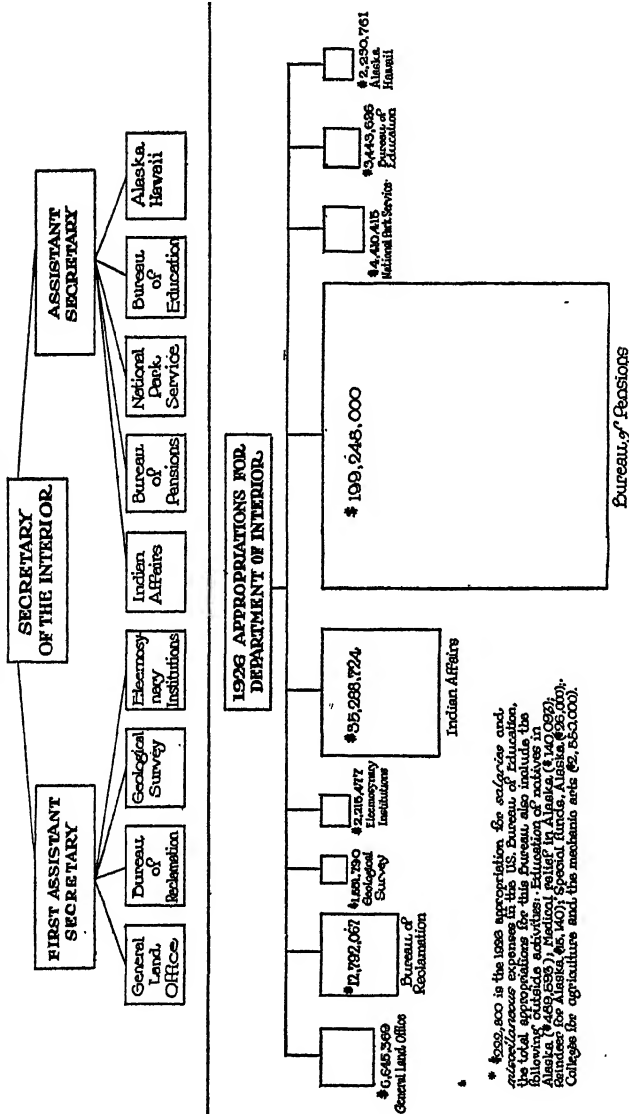
The facilities for disseminating educational information among laymen are even less adequate. The average citizen today thinks of the school as it was when he was a child. He forgets that, along with other things, edu-

cation has changed. The teacher and even the school executive still occupies a lowly place in public esteem. Educational reforms, the wisdom of which the great mass of educators recognize, fail because of the fact that they do not receive the attention of our citizenry. Enjoying such attention they would promptly be put into effect in thousands of local school systems. No one in the field of education today occupies a position that automatically insures attention to his words when he cites the problems of the schools. A Secretary of Education would command such attention. He would have no power to require educational reform, but he would be able to keep the major problems of education before the public mind, even as the Secretaries of Commerce, of Labor and of Agriculture are able to focus the attention of the country upon the problems of the national interests which they represent.

The Secretary of Education would exercise a function in relation to educational work which at present is inadequately provided for. The field of educational research at the present time suffers from the lack of provision in two directions. First, there is need for undertaking important fact-finding investigations of the type which only a Department of Education can undertake with satisfactory results. Second, there exists no adequate agency for the coordinating and interpreting of the results of educational research. If all of the findings of educational research to date could be brought to bear upon the problems of school administration, many of the most difficult problems now faced by school executives would largely disappear.

A Department of Education could effectively function in coordinating and in interpreting the results of the large amount of educational research now in progress throughout the country. When other agencies attempt such a coordination of research, their findings are likely to be influenced by special interests. This objection does not hold in relation to a Department of Education.

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR



* \$329,800 is the 1926 appropriation for salaries and expenses of the U.S. Bureau of Education, the total appropriation for this bureau for the following fiscal activities: Education of natives in Alaska (\$499,535); Medical relief in Alaska (\$140,092); Reindeer for Alaska (\$5,400); Special funds, Alaska (\$25,000); College for agriculture and the mechanic arts (\$2,852,000).

Exposed to the influences which would play upon a Department of Education there is little likelihood that a Secretary of Education would be able to distort the facts with success. He would be quickly brought to time by the other educational research agencies in the field. The situation is well stated in a recent article by Charles R. Mann who says:

. . . The centralization of administrative authority in a fact-finding Department of Education, or the usurpation of state and local executive autonomy, is rendered more difficult by the various voluntary professional organizations of teachers, of educational institutions and of religious denominations. Most of these are now engaged in fact-finding investigations. If the Federal Department attempted a partisan presentation of facts, their effect could be counteracted by presentation of the facts on the other side. . . .

Thus by the creation of a Department of Education presided over by a Secretary of Education we would not only insure that education would have an adequate agency whereby to place its problems before the people of the nation, but there is also assurance that this agency would be impartial in the presentation of facts bearing upon educational development.

Possessed of adequate information there need be no fear that the citizenry of the nation will fail to take action in their local school systems essential to sound educational advance. Under present conditions, however, educational progress too often lags behind advances in other fields. The solution is the creation of a Secretary of Education who might hope to claim for the schools the share of the nation's constructive thought which their importance to national welfare justifies.

VI. A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION WOULD HELP TO INCREASE SCHOOL EFFICIENCY

A. By conducting investigations which state and local officials are demanding so that education can be made less a guess work and more an intelligent procedure.

School procedure is at present based too much on guess work. Waste of efficiency is too often the result. Children's talents are often but partly developed and their time is wasted by poor methods of teaching. Material that is of little value at present or for the future takes up too large a part of each child's course. School accounting systems are often poorly organized. Many school boards cannot tell with accuracy how much their own schools cost. School buildings are frequently built according to poorly thought-out plans and paid for by wasteful bonding methods.

Millions of dollars are wasted each year in the conduct of the schools. Much of this waste can be prevented by adopting more intelligent procedures than those now used. School building history furnishes an excellent illustration of this fact. The nation's yearly bill for school buildings is now measured in hundreds of millions of dollars. In 1924, \$382,677,176 was expended for sites and buildings for public elementary and secondary schools. There is evidence that some of this money has been poorly spent due to ignorance. *

In April, 1925, the National Education Association issued a *Report on School House Planning*. One section of this report deals with waste in the planning of school buildings. The report states:

It has been found from the measurement of over 200 school buildings that the per cent of area for instruction varies from 60 per cent or more in some buildings to 40 per cent or less in other buildings. (All of these buildings were supposed to be good buildings. If admittedly poor buildings had been included the per cents for instruction would have fallen much lower.) The variation from 40 per cent to 60 per cent means that with a given cubic content, and at a given cost, *some buildings yield only two-thirds of the return in educational efficiency which they should yield.*

Few of our thousands of school boards have resources to gather the information necessary to the scientific construction of school buildings. The outside help that school boards can command is often inadequate to

the wisest use of the millions they expend yearly for school buildings.

This statement is well supported by the *Report on School House Planning*. This investigation made a detailed study of eighty school buildings of all types found in twenty-four states in all sections of the country. No buildings were studied which had not been designed by architects "of recognized standing." Much waste occurs in the construction of such buildings. The report states:

Many educators and architects still plan school buildings as they did before the war, showing that the day of the "rule of thumb" is not yet ended. Many of them give little study to the proportional distribution of areas for the various departments. They apparently give much time and attention to relatively trivial elements while more serious concerns pass unnoticed.

It is not to be wondered at that the final conclusion of the report is that "*the total amount of waste in school buildings is enormous.*" This conclusion is in agreement with the findings of a large number of school surveys. These surveys have clearly demonstrated the tremendous waste that characterizes many local school building programs.

The working out and dissemination of scientific "checking lists," whereby school building plans and school sites could be carefully checked by local school officials before erection and purchase, would save millions of dollars each year. A saving of \$19,000,000 would result each year if the amount expended for school sites and buildings could be reduced but five per cent. Such a saving is not too much to expect when one considers the meager resources which typical middle-sized or small school systems at present can command in undertaking building programs. The maintenance of an effective school building information service by a Department of Education alone could result in a saving of millions of dollars every year. More important, better planned, safer

and more healthful buildings would be obtained for the money expended.

Many of our state governments annually allot millions of dollars for the "equalization of educational opportunity" in their local communities. These funds are created primarily so that local communities can provide educational facilities up to a reasonable minimum on an average tax rate. In 1923-24, \$265,983,078 in revenue receipts was raised by the forty-eight state governments for these funds. A number of studies already exist which indicate that the state school funds fall short of accomplishing their main purpose. The detailed study of school finance in several states made by the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission may be cited as illustrative. New York, for example, has a state school fund larger in proportion to its educational expenditures than is generally found in other states in the country. Yet this conclusion is reached by the study of New York State:

Approximately one-half of this state aid is entirely unaffected by the richness of the local resources back of the teacher, and the portion which is so affected is allocated in a manner which favors both the very rich and the very poor localities at the expense of those moderately well off.

The conditions in New York as indicated by this quotation are typical for many states. In fact the methods of financing schools in New York State are in many respects among the best to be found in the United States.

Typical illustrations of the ineffectiveness with which the state school funds are used in six of our commonwealths show that Pulaski County in Arkansas, which has a taxable wealth per child of \$3,151 received \$4.25 of state aid per child. Boone County also in Arkansas with \$922 of taxable wealth per child received \$3.09 of state aid per child. In short the state school fund as it affects these counties tends to increase rather than decrease the differences in the type of educational opportunity offered to children in this state. Similar facts are

given for five other states. The figures are typical and could be duplicated in all but a comparatively small number of the states of the Union.

The expenditures for education have nearly doubled since the close of the war. The amount of money in state school funds has been greatly increased, yet there is evidence to prove that the present methods of raising, distributing and accounting for these large sums are far short of what they might be. Much greater progress toward obtaining a maximum return for the money expended for public education would have been made in the last five years had the results of comprehensive federal investigations in the field of educational finance been available.

Hundreds of colleges and normal schools throughout the nation are engaged in the training of teachers. It is the exceptional state, however, which is able to exercise foresight as to number and kinds of teachers it trains.

Relatively few states can tell at the present time how many of its teachers are untrained. They do not know the length of the teaching career of their teachers. They do not know the annual teacher turnover. Practically no attempts are made to predict for five or ten years in the future the number of new teachers needed yearly to provide for replacements and growth of school population. Under present conditions it is almost impossible to obtain facts on these points in the majority of states. A coordinated plan for the training of teachers is impossible. The tardy and wasteful effect of supply and demand is the determining factor.

In some years, many of those who have completed teacher training courses find no positions open to them. In other years, it is found that there are too few trained teachers to fill vacancies.

This is an extremely wasteful procedure. Public money is needlessly expended in some years for the training of teachers not needed. Young people use their time

in training to become teachers when they could better be equipping themselves for some line of work which is short of workers. In other instances too few trained teachers are available and the children suffer since the only way to keep schools open is to let down the bars of certification to those admittedly unprepared for teaching.

The worst features of this situation would be corrected as a result of the investigations which a Department of Education might undertake. The results would not be obtained through coercion, as the Department would have no power to compel any state action. A revelation of the facts would be sufficient. The heads of teacher training institutions are anxious neither to train too few or too many teachers. If they had the facts they would take action and secure state legislation needed to correct the unsatisfactory features of our present plan for teacher training.

In the preceding paragraphs it has been possible to give but a few illustrations of how the investigations of a Department of Education would result in increased educational efficiency. There are many other examples that might be given to illustrate how the dissemination of information of the type, which only a federal agency can be expected to assemble, would result in the improvement of local and state practise in school administration.

If federal educational research resulted in but a small saving in school expenditures it would pay for itself many times. Approximately two billion dollars were expended for public schools in 1925. In this year, if the investigations of a Department of Education had resulted in a saving of but one per cent of the expenditures for education, without reducing the effectiveness of the results maintained, twenty million dollars would have been saved. The investigations of a Department of Education would cost but a small fraction of this sum. Of still greater importance than actual money saved,

would be the better results obtained for the money expended.

Scientific invention has greatly increased the effectiveness of many forms of human activity. It can similarly increase the efficiency of the schools. Scientific research is one of the vital forces back of all human progress. One may make an excellent estimate of the advance that has been made in the last half century in a given field of human activity if he knows the degree to which research has been adopted as a guide for its development. Research has tremendously increased the effectiveness of every form of human endeavor to which it has been applied.

Our economic productivity, according to the Secretary of Commerce, is "due to fundamental and continuing forces, such as the cumulation of education, the advancement of science, skill and elimination of waste."

What is research? This question is answered as it concerns research in industry in a recent bulletin issued by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which says:

Research in industry is and should be, nothing more or less than an intelligent inquiry into how to do practical things; if they are new, how they can be done in the best way; if they are old, how in a better way. In a word it is invention. Research is not impractical. It is the most practical thing in the world for individual business firms or organized businesses to engage in.

Scientific research is playing a major role in the development of commercial enterprise. The bulletin of the United States Chamber of Commerce already quoted says:

. . . sometime ago a statement from one admittedly in position to judge, placed the amount expended annually by American manufacturers in the conduct of laboratory research alone at thirty-five million dollars. Unquestionably this figure is well on the conservative side. In addition, this same authority places the annual savings to American industry from research at one-half billion dollars.

. . . there is probably no more tangible evidence of the com-

mercial value of industrial research than the fact that hundreds of business men annually contribute for its support an amount greater than the public debt of this country but seventy years ago.

Pages of illustrations might be given to prove the productivity of practical research when applied to different fields of human endeavor. The following quotation from a recent investigation gives a number of such illustrations in brief form.

. . . the support of scientific research takes on all the glamour of a promising speculation, which, at relatively slight cost and risk, holds forth the possibility of undreamed-of expansions in productivity. The justification of this statement rests on examples like the following: The entire modern industrial system in its enormous capacity for production developed from the epoch-making researches of Watt in Glasgow, and Faraday in the Royal Institution at London. In comparison with the fabulous increases in wealth and productive power that have resulted from these studies, the costs of the investigations themselves are totally negligible. According to Huxley, Pasteur's discoveries for preventing anthrax, silkworm disease, and chicken cholera added annually to France's wealth a sum equivalent to the entire indemnity of the war of 1870. One of the most valuable remedies known to medical science was discovered in a research institute at Frankfort, Germany, the annual income of which was not over \$20,000 a year. No one can calculate accurately the added production likely to follow the recent discovery in a Canadian university of insulin and its possibilities for prolonging the lives of diabetics, many of whom are persons of ability and certain to "produce," if only they can be kept in health. The discoveries of a certain member of the faculty at Columbia University, under a conservative estimate, will add to the wealth of the country a sum larger than the entire cost of the university from its pre-Revolutionary beginnings to the present. A new process for manufacturing coke, discovered at the University of Illinois, may add more to the wealth of the state than the total appropriations which the state university is likely to receive in the next century. Much the same claim could be safely made for the Babcock milk test discovered at the University of Wisconsin. Instances of claiming to add millions to the wealth of a state by a few thousands spent on research in its agricultural experiment station are frequent. Among such instances, at least the following have a substantial basis of fact: Soil treatment, development of superior strains of grains, increased egg production, control of various plant diseases, sera for preventing diseases of farm animals, grasshopper control, and prevention of loss in stored grain from insects.

The influence of research in medical work needs but to be mentioned to be accepted. It is interesting to note, however, that it was only with extreme difficulty that great pioneers in this field were able to obtain even modest support for their work.

Mistakes due to ignorance and the lack of exact facts are taking place today in education similar to those made in medicine around 1870. The result of mal-educational practice, however, is less immediate and striking than that of mal-medical practice. The effect of the wrong kind of education on human progress, however, is likely in the end to be more serious. If education is to be made a more exact procedure in which guesswork will exercise a decreasing influence, a body of exact information must be created by persistent and painstaking educational research.

Research has tremendously increased the efficacy of human effort in the field of agricultural production. It was recently estimated that the aggregate production per person engaged in agriculture has been increased 25 per cent since 1900. In recent years the yield per acre and per farmer has increased to such an extent as to release many persons for other occupations than farming. According to Secretary Jardine, writing in the January, 1926, issue of the *Review of Reviews*: "These changes are attributable chiefly to the application of the results of scientific discovery."

The scientific investigations of a Department of Education would aid local school officials in reducing educational waste and in increasing school efficiency. To undertake investigations likely to bring about such results is a major function of a Department of Education according to the terms of the bill. It seems ridiculous in an age in which life has literally been re-made through research that it should be necessary to urge that scientific research will improve educational efficiency. Yet many will probably challenge any suggestion that the effective-

ness of the school can be increased by replacing tradition and guesswork by facts and knowledge.

Scepticism and ridicule have greeted every attempt to apply research and scientific methods to the great interests that affect public welfare. The business man doubted that research could be of any assistance to commercial development and yet thirty millions now being spent yearly for commercial research brings returns estimated at a half billion dollars. The possibility of building a science of medicine through research was ridiculed even by the doctors themselves. Research has resulted in an almost complete revision of our methods of agricultural production. When it was first suggested that the federal government should encourage agricultural research, these were some of the arguments advanced against the suggestion: Such work would be unconstitutional. It would interfere with the local autonomy of the farmer. It was not necessary. The farmer himself without outside "interferences" was best able to solve his own problems.

It is not surprising, therefore, that similar arguments are advanced against the research of a Department of Education. Educational research is badly needed at the present time to improve school practice. Research in education would probably yield greater dividends to human advance than it has yielded in any field that has yet come under the spell of its magic touch.

It has been conservatively estimated that the anti-hog-cholera serum developed through federal research saves 7,500,000 hogs each year. The researches of the federal government in the direction of controlling the barberry bush, which for a time so seriously reduced the wheat yield, saves millions every year. It is estimated that the use of the "thickened edge" in concrete roads, resulting from federal research, saves \$9,360,000 annually in road construction.

William M. Jardine, Secretary of Agriculture, makes this statement in the January, 1926 issue of the *American Review of Reviews*:

Yield per acre and per farmer has increased to such an extent, as to result in releasing many persons for other occupations than farming. In wheat, oats, corn, potatoes and hay the average acre yield in 1920-24 was notably in excess of that from 1900 to 1904; only in cotton, among the important crops, was a decrease shown. It is estimated that the aggregate production per person engaged in agriculture has increased 25 per cent since 1900.

These changes are attributable chiefly to the application of the results of scientific discovery in three fields: plant-breeding yields, adaptation to specific regions, and resistance to drouth, disease and other contingencies; invention of labor-saving machinery for agricultural use; control of animal disease, insect pests and fungous growth. Research work in agriculture was greatly stimulated by Federal and State appropriations.

Federal research can render unusual service in certain fields. These questions may well be asked concerning any field in which federal research is suggested: (1) Is the field one of wide and general interest? (2) Is it organized under comparatively small units of control, unlikely to possess adequate facilities to support research necessary to progress? (3) Is the field one in which some research is being undertaken under local, state and private auspices the results of which need to be collected and analyzed by a central research agency? All of these questions may be answered in the affirmative as far as education is concerned.

Education is of wide and general interest. Its influence is felt by all the people. It wields a determining influence in national advance. Education is organized under small units of control which usually do not possess adequate facilities to support the research necessary to progress. Some research is already in progress under the auspices of state and local school systems and other agencies. The good effect of this work is often lost because there exists no agency adequate to the collection, analyzing and dissemination of the results of this widely scattered research. A Department of Education is a logical agency to perform the service needed in a field which has the characteristics that have been described.

The value of federal research has been clearly dem-

onstrated in a number of important fields which have characteristics similar to those that mark education. It is logical to suppose that similar results would accrue to the schools from a well-supported program of research conducted by a Department of Education.

B. By rendering greatly needed and much desired service to state and local school officials.

State and local school officials throughout the nation are demanding the type of research and information service a Department of Education might render. These like other officials are jealous of their prerogatives. They would be the first to attack any educational movement designed to encroach upon their powers or which did not promise to assist them in solving their problems.

School administrators, both state and local, are actively supporting the establishment of a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association (including in its membership 3700 state, county, and city superintendents of schools, heads of teacher-training institutions, colleges, and universities, and professors of school administration and supervision), has repeatedly in its national conventions passed resolutions urging the creation of a Federal Department of Education.

VII. THE OBJECTIONS ADVANCED AGAINST THE CREATION OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ARE BASED UPON UNJUSTIFIED ASSUMPTIONS, UNWARRANTED FEARS OR MISREPRESENTATIONS

A. The fear that a Department of Education will control education in the states and local communities is unwarranted.

This fear is held particularly by those who are unfamiliar with the terms of the bill. It is also advanced

on the assumption that the dissemination of information concerning a national interest implies control of that national interest. Neither of these constitute a sound ground upon which to base this objection.

The bill gives the Department of Education no control over education. More important than this is the fact that there exist a number of forces all of which would effectively operate to prevent any attempt that a Department of Education might make to assume administrative control of the schools. The first of these is the spirit of the people of the nation. One of the most generally accepted principles of our government is that education should remain under local control. Any encroachment upon this local control would result in prompt and effective objection from our citizenry.

The second factor that would prevent the assumption of control by the Department of Education is the character of our educational development. From the beginning our education has been organized on a local and state basis. School officers would be resentful of any attempt that would be made to encroach upon their prerogatives. The teaching profession as a whole is committed to the continuance of a decentralized control of education. If the organization of education under state and local control were not already accomplished the objection to the creation of a Department of Education might be valid.

The existence of a series of well-entrenched state and local school systems offers a guarantee that a Department of Education, even though it desired to exercise control, would find it impossible to do so.

B. The fear that educational research will mechanize, and standardize education has no sound basis.

The replacement of guesswork by knowledge has never mechanized or decreased the effectiveness of any human endeavor. When Pasteur's researches proved that

gangrene did not result from "spontaneous generation," but from germs introduced into wounds by unclean operating methods—medical procedure took a long step away from guesswork toward knowledge. There are more unsolved medical questions today than ever before—practice is constantly changing. Research has tremendously increased the effectiveness of the doctor, but it has not "mechanized" medical work.

Educational research rather than leading to an undesirable uniformity in educational procedure will put each teacher in possession of the knowledge that will make intelligent teaching possible. The more intelligent the worker, the less mechanical will be his methods of work. The greatest enemy of standardization is research. Research leads to continual change and improvement.

C. The fear that private and parochial schools are to be interfered with is baseless.

The bill in no way interferes with private and parochial schools. They would be as free in their development as at present. They would be entirely free to accept or to reject the investigations of the Department of Education as an aid to their work according to their own decision as to their merits.

It is true that if a Department of Education resulted in greater efficiency on the part of public schools, private and parochial schools would probably find it necessary also to increase their effectiveness. In doing this, however, private educational institutions would have access to the findings of a Department of Education equal to those enjoyed by the public schools.

It is unthinkable that any considerable percentage of our privately controlled educational institutions should care to keep public education on a relatively low level of efficiency in order to avoid the competition that would result from increased efficiency on the part of public schools, towards which a Department of Education would contribute.

D. The fear that a Department of Education would be an "entering wedge" for federal control of education is far-fetched.

The independence of state and local school systems is too well established and too jealously guarded to justify the fear that a Department of Education, given *no control* over education, would lead to federal control. Federal control of the schools is unconstitutional. It would be necessary to pass a constitutional amendment to bring the schools under national control. Why conjure up future fears? Why assume that future generations will be less capable of guarding their rights than the present?

Such fears and such assumptions for the future are an insufficient basis for deferring action on a matter clearly justified in the light of present day needs.

E. The fear that the cost of education will be increased is the result of lack of vision.

This fear is held by those who are so short sighted as to believe that economy consists of the one-sided activity of saving money. Wise economy must consist of spending money effectively as well as hoarding it. Too much money cannot be spent for education provided it is expended wisely. The creation of a Department of Education would be a step in the direction of insuring a wiser use of the sums yearly invested in education by the American people.

F. The statement that federal money is to be appropriated for the support of local and state schools is based upon a lack of knowledge of the terms of the present bill.

The Education Bill appropriates no money for school support. The only appropriation made is that needed in maintaining the research and investigation facilities in the Department of Education in Washington. Some former

measures have provided for appropriations for state school support. This does not.

G. The fear that education will be brought into politics is not justified.

"Political" interference has not prevented the splendid researches of other federal departments that save the nation billions annually. So long as government is carried on through parties, politics will play some part in all our cooperative enterprises. No one thinks of abolishing the postal service because it is sometimes affected by politics. Great constructive pieces of work are being done by the federal government in spite of politics. Such politics as might enter into a Department of Education would not prevent it doing a great service to education. Since the Department of Education would share no control over education, it could not bring politics into the schools.

. . . fact-finding enterprise stimulates cooperation for the common good among many independent agencies without impairing in any way the autonomy of each. This is so obvious that educators are rapidly coming to agree that a properly constituted fact-finding federal office could not if it would either drag education under political control or impair the powers of the indestructible states.

The statement sometimes made that the creation of a Department means that teachers will be appointed from Washington and a new "horde" of federal employees created has no basis whatever. There is nothing in the bill that either directly or indirectly points to such a result as an examination of its provisions will prove. Such allegations are the result of ignorance of the terms of the bill or of a desire to misrepresent.

H. The time-honored state rights fear is not applicable since no states rights are interfered with.

Advanced in its usual generalized form this fear has no solid basis. From the beginning of our history it has

been advanced against every proposal that has been made for the federal government to undertake work in some great field of governmental activity which advancing civilization demands. Had the bearers of the state rights banner had their way, the United States would be a motley array of antagonistic principalities, each with its own coinage, each guarding its borders against invasion and placing ridiculous custom regulations in the path of trade and commerce. Those who invoke the state rights shibboleth fail to remember that it was never intended that either overcentralization or an anarchy of decentralization should be the controlling factor.

Some of our governmental functions are most effectively conducted when placed under the control of the central government, which enlists the cooperation of state and local governments. In other cases the best results can be obtained by leaving the control in the hands of the local and state units and by enlisting the cooperation of the federal government and from Washington's administration down the National Government has consistently sought to promote education progress. Education belongs to the latter class. Our schools cannot be conducted effectively without some cooperation on the part of the federal government. Whether this is liked as an abstract principle is beside the issue. History has already determined that the federal government will exercise some educational functions such as the collection of educational facts and their dissemination. The question that the education bill involves is whether these functions shall be discharged on a low or on a high level of efficiency.

THE SUPPORTERS OF A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Education Bill enjoys the practically unanimous support of the teaching profession including the great mass of state and local school superintendents. The prin-

ciple of a Department of Education is supported by the following forward-looking educational and lay organizations:

National Education Association
 American Federation of Teachers
 American Federation of Labor
 National Committee for a Department of Education
 National Council of Women
 National Congress of Parents and Teachers
 General Federation of Women's Clubs
 National League of Women Voters
 Supreme Council, Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, United States
 International Council of Religious Education
 National Council of Jewish Women
 National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
 American Association of University Women
 National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
 General Grand Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star
 National Women's Trade Union League
 National Board, Young Women's Christian Association
 National Federation of Music Clubs
 American Library Association
 American Vocational Association
 Woman's Relief Corps
 Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America
 National Kindergarten Association
 American Home Economics Association
 American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association
 American Nurses' Association
 Osteopathic Women's National Association
 National Council, Junior Order of United American Mechanics of the United States of North America.
 Service Star Legion, Inc.

RESOLUTIONS*

1. THE PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER OF AMERICA

We recognize that the essential value of any school or of any school system, whether State or local, is to be measured in the quality of its teaching force. Every

* Resolutions of the Council of State Superintendents and Commissioners of Education, February, 1926. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. p. 348-50. 69th Congress, 1st Session. February 24-26, 1926.

agency that is concerned with the administration of education should bend its efforts to the development of good teaching. We hold that it is essential that teachers should possess sound scholarship, that they should be well trained professionally, that there should be adequate remuneration, and that there should be reasonable security in tenure. We believe that it is the duty of the public to protect the interests of the youth by seeing that these essentials are met.

2. EQUALIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

If Lincoln were living today, he would likely say that no nation can long exist half educated and half uneducated. It is a matter of history that nations perpetuate themselves only through the education of their people.

From the colonial days to the present, our people have been trying to solve the problem of equalization of educational opportunity. For some time this was a local community problem, then it became a larger county problem. Still later the problem grew to be State wide, and today it is one of the most serious problems confronting the entire Nation.

This problem of equalization of educational opportunity has been largely brought about through no inherent differences among peoples, but by geographic influences. The centers of wealth have developed even faster than our Nation has developed.

This problem has been solved by many communities and even by some counties. Many States have done much to give equal educational advantages to all their children regardless of where they live.

Communities, counties, and even States may provide equality of educational opportunities, but until the Nation takes a part in the solution of this great problem, there can be no lasting solution. The Nation has already done much toward equalizing the problems in the

field of health, agriculture, home economics, and road building.

The Nation can prosper only as all its people prosper. All of its people prosper only as they are educated. Therefore, this council of State superintendents and commissioners of education believe that Congress should make provision for special and thorough studies of the Nation's problem of equalization of educational opportunity and should take whatever steps are appropriate to the proper solution of the problem.

3. TAXATION AND EDUCATION

The greatest obstacle to the development of a satisfactory educational program in most States is the heavy burden of school support borne by the school district, the smallest taxation unit. With the increasing school costs of recent years have come aggravated inequalities in taxation. Thousands of districts are well equipped financially to carry out extensive educational programs; unfortunately thousands of other districts find themselves financially embarrassed when attempting even meager programs.

In States which have learned to regard education as a State responsibility relief from overburdening tax rates for schools in weaker districts has been secured not by curtailing the educational opportunities offered in such districts, but by State support so distributed as to secure a degree of equality in tax burden and to permit some equality in educational opportunities.

All thoughtful Americans are awake to the necessity of a democratic program in education. Wealth is abundant for its support. We believe it to be the duty of the States to provide such methods of taxation as will accord an equitable support of the educational facilities of the State, with a due distribution of the burdens of the necessary costs.

4. THE OBLIGATIONS OF EDUCATION TO THE COUNTRY CHILD

Education owes to the country child so to complement his out-of-school opportunity for growth that he may attain the highest possible development of his independent personality and make his maximum contribution to the welfare of the race.

Necessary to this accomplishment is the revision of the school curriculum, based upon a scientific determination of values as related to the cardinal objectives of secondary education, to the child's environment, including adequate length of term and protection from child labor, and to the participation in such activities, both curricular and extracurricular, as will establish habits, skill, ideals, and standards that will fit the youth for better living not only in his immediate present but also prepare for the duties of home making, of social life, and of citizenship.

5. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE STATE TO EDUCATION

A Commonwealth is not built by defining its boundaries and locating its capital. It is created in the hearts and minds of the youth of each generation through instruction in the home, the church, and the school. Every institution which centers in the State is the direct or indirect creature of education. In preserving a state-wide system of free public schools for all the children of all the people the State is preserving itself.

6. PUBLIC EDUCATION—A CONCERN OF THE NATION

Education is a matter of major concern in any consideration of our national welfare. However, the mere repetition of such axiomatic truths is little more than a sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. The consuming and passionate interest in American education today as the rock foundation on which the permanency of American

democracy must be built demands a more dignified position for education in governmental councils.

We recognize the principle that the responsibility for the determination of educational policies and for the administration of the educational program rests with the States. With this prerogative the National Government must not interfere. Quite beyond this, however, there is a pressing need in the Federal Government for a department of education, with a secretary in the President's Cabinet.

The inefficient and uneconomical lack of administrative organization which has scattered educational activities throughout a score or more departments and bureaus can not be condemned too strongly. It is wasteful and unbusinesslike. Not only for these reasons but for the larger service which a department of education would render to the National Government and to the various States is a national clearing house of educational thought essential. Commerce and labor, war and naval affairs, the Postal Service and international relations, these and others are of large importance; but even more fundamental and underlying all of these public interests and activities is the training of youth for citizenship.

In accordance with these principles, this council pledged its continued support to a department of education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet.

7. PUBLIC EDUCATION AND AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

Good citizenship and good character stand out as the chief aims of public education in America. Public funds are expended for public schools with the expectation that Nation and State will benefit by the development of good citizens through public education. The increasing complexity of government in America makes greater emphasis upon citizenship essential. The increasing temptations that beset youth today makes greater emphasis on char-

acter education imperative. We recognize that good citizenship and good character are dependent primarily upon the development of high ideals and proper attitudes and habits. Such ideals, attitudes, and habits can not be developed as fully as they should through the teaching of the form, organization, and functions of government, important as we recognize such teaching to be. Good habits are best developed through proper training. School life and its activities must, therefore, be organized so as to give training and good citizenship and moral conduct. We, therefore urge greater emphasis upon civic and moral training in all branches of the school system from kindergarten through the university, to the end that American institutions may be better appreciated, better used, and better defended, and the ideals of American life preserved and advanced. We also urge the establishment, under proper regulation, of courses in adult education which will enable adult citizens to study under impartial leadership the complex problems of citizenship to the end that public questions shall be decided on the basis of knowledge of facts and the factors involved, rather than on the basis of passion and prejudice.

STATES' RIGHTS ¹⁰

The right of the state to manage its own affairs is a principle that has loomed large in American history. It might not be too much to say that the outstanding features of our history since 1774 have clustered around this doctrine. From the heinous cabal that sought to destroy Washington, through the heart-breaking controversies of the Constitutional Convention up to the terrible Civil War that rent the nation asunder and tore gaping wounds that have not yet wholly healed, the principle of states' rights has been conspicuous.

¹⁰ From *New Age*. 33: 198. April, 1925.

In its defense heroic men have agonized and died, and it has been hallowed with the self-denying sacrifices of women and children. If heroism and consecration can make sacred a civic doctrine, then states' rights is forever holy.

It is deplorable therefore that the definition of states' rights is so ambiguous and that in its application to specific conditions there is so much confusion. Yet there need be no uncertainty or perplexity.

The fundamental axiom that underlies the whole argument is that the United States is a nation and not merely a loose federation of independent states. Economically, socially, politically, sentimentally, the United States is a homogenous commonwealth—only that policy is good that promotes the prosperity of every part. Like the body, an injury at any point impairs the efficiency of the whole. Therefore, the well-being of the nation is paramount to the peculiar advantage of any state, and every state must yield its own preferences and predilections in the presence of national need.

When, however, the national welfare has been conserved the states have every right to determine whatever laws and communal policies they may desire.

There are some public questions that are imperatively the concern of the National Government because they affect the well-being of the nation; the public health, interstate commerce, the national defense, education. Rats affected with the plague on the Pacific Coast imperil the lives of the people of Alabama and Maine. Unjust freight discrimination in the Middle West influences living conditions in Florida and Oregon.

The citizenry of the East and the West must realize that they are component parts of a great nation and must transcend in their sympathy their interest and their patriotic concern, the narrow, artificial boundaries of the states, and learn to view political problems in the light of national relationships and national responsibilities.

Take education as an illustration. For a long time education has been considered the sole concern of each state. The extent of illiteracy, the discrimination against sections, classes and races, the inefficiency of the schools, the inadequacy of the teaching, were presumed to be wholly the affair of the state. But now we know that illiteracy, ignorance, mis-education, in any state, endanger the governments of every state and of the nation as a whole.

It is an axiom, therefore, of modern social organization that no state has a right to foster ignorance and illiteracy because of avarice, penuriousness or neglect, any more than a state has a right to contaminate rivers flowing into other states or perpetuate disease-breeding conditions in the cities.

The control of the schools must remain the responsibility of each state, and with this principle there can be no quarrel. But at the same time the duty rests upon the citizenry of every state to wage unceasing war against illiteracy within its borders and to cooperate with the people of the whole country in stamping out illiteracy throughout the nation.

NEED OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATIONAL SERVICE ¹¹

I am impelled to speak in a very homely, everyday practical sort of way about some of the arguments which seldom find open expression on the platform in a discussion of national organization but which influence men's thoughts (and votes) more powerfully than the logical plans which are generally presented. There are several such objections and arguments operating against the proposition of national organization for the equaliz-

¹¹ Address by Olive N. Jones, delivered before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, February 27, 1922. *Educational Review*. 63: 395-401. May, 1922.

ing of educational opportunity. *Every objection, when analyzed, can be classified under fear.*

One is the fear of Foundations. I frankly confess I share it. But it is *because* I share in it that I believe in national organization for education. I fear the domination of any privately financed and carefully organized combination of individuals, by whatever title it calls itself. And because I fear it, I believe there should be in the National Government a department which will protect public education from any such domination—protect it because its officials are appointed by persons directly responsible to popular vote. Because I fear it, I believe that education should be organized nationally, so that there may obtain equality of educational opportunity, apparently threatened in times past by political or commercial or industrial or religious combinations, and so that the investigations and researches necessary to educational advance may be supported and financed as the work of public, not private, educational authorities.

A second fear is the fear of supervision. In the first place, does not such a fear carry with it a confession of desire to escape meeting requirements conceded to be justly expected? Why fear supervision unless one has something to hide or means to evade doing right? Why should the state, an impersonal body, fear supervision? In the second place, the fear of supervision in connection with national organization for educational service is an absurd bugaboo, a goblin created by enemies of *public* education to frighten off its friends, for supervision has no place in national organization for educational service as I see it, and I would fight its inclusion as vigorously as I now believe in national aid to impoverished states. A section of the proposed bill is explicit in this regard.

The third fear is that someone is going to get a job as a result of national organization. But since expression of this fear would be interpreted as the jealousy and envy which do really prompt it, a camouflage is established of

high-sounding phrases and speciously idealistic reasoning. People have lost patience with this camouflage and are antagonized by the insincerity which it conceals. Naturally, national organization of education means someone to do the job of carrying out the purposes of organization. When the Department of Labor was established, it meant a man to direct the work of the department. So now there must necessarily be someone to administer the affairs and duties for which the creation of a national organization is desired. Is the jealous fear of who may possibly be selected a good reason for depriving the nation of an educational procedure on which its own existence may depend?

A fourth fear is that social justice will suffer. I challenge the sincerity of this fear. I think we should be grateful to Felix Adler for showing us the danger we are in through our illusion as to what social justice consists in, and for showing us that behind that term there shelters a dangerously exaggerated individualism which is destructive of a national ideal, which would tear down the unity of the American people, so difficult of attainment by a nation composed of groups originally widely separated by varying ideas and ideals.

This fear expresses itself in an outcry against the danger of uniformity. I come from a city which is a perpetual refutation of any such danger. And no one there really fears uniformity, for we all know it can't be done. With a single course of study, a single set of regulations and by-laws and one individual superintendent of schools, dearly loved and deeply trusted by all, our 700 or more schools are as individual in their characteristics as the contour of the faces of their principals.

Sometimes this exaggerated individualism, the selfish individualism which leads to chaos, calls organization Prussianism. A recent newspaper letter said that Prussianism is a greater evil than illiteracy, and cites Germany as proof of his argument. But German education

was not *public* education nor was it *equal* opportunity for all the people, and it is in the land of unequal opportunity that Prussianism has its chance to grow. And evil though it was and great as was its harm to civilization, the Prussianism of the Kaiser is no more an enemy to democracy than the Prussianism of a political boss, who has his chance to flourish because of the ignorance of the people he manipulates.

The real enemy of democracy is not in national organization for public education but in mob power, the power of mobs of illiterate voters swayed and misguided by conscienceless leaders. And as Prussianism, so called, is the enemy of the opportunity of the individual, so is this greater evil of illiteracy which leads to the autocracy of the mob and the boss.

A fifth fear is the fear of politics. I recently attended a meeting in New York called for the purposes of considering ways and means of taking the schools out of politics. As I listened to the two chief speakers declaim against political influence in the schools, and each describe his patent remedy, my conclusion was that each really meant: "Take the schools out of *your* politics and put them in *mine*." This fear, too, is a hobgoblin raised against every national public improvement ever contemplated. Which is more to be feared: the politics of today, which is blind to the needs of children in its budget appropriations, or the politics, which may or may not happen, but which is so controlled by law that appropriations must be made to aid each state to give the same minimum educational opportunities to every child.

The real political issue here is one of votes. The children of the nation will benefit by national organization for equal opportunity in education, and the *children* have no votes. Not that I'm arguing that they should have. I'm merely stating the fact that local politicians ignore children's needs through fear of adult votes. The woman voter, whose suffrage privilege is still so new,

has not yet waked up to this political issue. I urge every teacher to join every civic organization in which he or she can obtain membership in order to rouse women to the needs of the children and make the politician fear the vote of the children's defenders more than that of the taxpayer.

There is still a sixth fear—the fear of interference with the rights of parents. Recently I read the astonishing statement that the general Government has no more right to dictate to the father how much he must educate his child than to prescribe his food or the shape of his clothes, and again that the Government in assuming to direct the minimum requirements for an intelligent citizenship is usurping the place of the father and depriving him of his most sacred privilege, that of directing the training of his offspring. Did one ever hear such fallacy? In the first place, there is no "sacred privilege" about it. The training of his offspring is no "privilege" but a solemn obligation, a bounden duty, which the Government has as much right to enforce upon parents as to enforce laws for the observance of any other duty. The Government owes it to the child who is to be its future citizen to compel the parent and the community to give that child at least a minimum of education.

Again a fear—this time of increased taxes.

My brother has seven children. The state where those children were born has little wealth and its educational opportunities are few. His ranch gave a good living but little cash, and it takes big sums to send seven children away to school. So he gave up his ranch and took a salaried position in the city in order to send his children to public school. Is that industrial efficiency? And that state is not to blame. It simply hasn't the money to do better, and it never can have.

Conditions in such states can never be better unless aid is given by wealthier states. That aid should not be given as a charity to be doled out in unequal amounts or

withheld as the giver may choose. I was shocked at a recent convention to hear the refusal expressed by the representative of a wealthy city to listen to the needs of the rural sections of that state where bogs and forests make population sparse and money scarce even while essential industries are carried on there.

New York State has compelled New York City to meet the needs of the rural communities. The Government must similarly meet the needs of the poorer states. State aid to education and minimum requirements of education are familiar to us in New York. We have recently fought hard to secure the reenactment of every clause which provides such state aid. Federal aid extends to each state as a whole that which New York State now gives each community which meets the conditions for that aid.

A recent newspaper article states that it is bribery to make a gift of money by the Government to a state that meets its conditions. Since it is acknowledged that the richer states are already in advance of the minimum requirements, and since it is conceded that the wealthier states should be made to help the less fortunate communities, where does the bribery come in? I'm too stupid to see it, and I believe it is an attempt to raise up another fear and accomplish an evil purpose by indirection. It is easy to defeat good by appeal to fear, and so our enemies are busy manufacturing fears for the unthinking.

Aware of probable comparison with preceding instances of government aid or government direction, the same newspaper article states that these other agencies "operate under absolutely defined constitutional power." Clever, that. First, an appeal to our fears that there will be an infringement of the Constitution. Second, an argument against an assumption so cleverly made that the average reader is blinded to the falsity of the assumption, for no proponent of government aid by national or-

ganization for education has ever dreamed of anything except operation under absolutely defined constitutional powers.

Another instance of the same form of argument is an assault upon the provision for a requirement of minimum qualifications as a prerequisite to government aid by a long harangue on what are to be the standards in history. The average listener is carried away by the argument, and forgets that no proponent of minimum standards ever proposed anything in regard to history or any other subject, except the ability to read and write English. Will the creator of this bugaboo accept a challenge? Will he dare assert that this democracy has not the right to demand minimum standards in reading and writing English in the education of its future voters? The people who raise these bugaboos and rouse these fears are really opponents of public education or have aims which make them fear an enlightened citizenry.

Public education is the nation's business. Americanization is. Not long ago I spoke in a community where several of the teachers spoke no English at home or even at recess in the yards with their pupils. I once heard a soap-box speaker talk to a crowd in a foreign language, saying, "This is what I dare not say to you in English because I would be arrested." He disregarded me because I was only a woman and presumably unfamiliar with his language. Can we have an American nation if there is no power to organize education nationally so that these things cannot be?

Lastly, I make my stand in favor of national organization for education because I am a woman, deeply interested, personally and professionally, in equal opportunity for education of all children and of the women of all nations that come to our land. Women vote in America. I fought for suffrage and would fight again for woman's equal rights as citizens. Therefore I want women educated and taught to use their intelligence and

their votes for the best interests of children. And I know there are people, now in great numbers in this country, whose men brutally beat the women of their families if they go to any kind of a school, and then at the command of a boss or gang leader drive these same women to the polls to vote, as those women never could have been induced knowingly to vote, against the best interests of school and home.

The writer who called national organization for education Prussianism advised us, if we want it and believe in it so strongly, to demand that it be done by federal amendment. We are ready to do so, but will the states never grant a national good except by federal amendment? We have the long and historic struggles for abolition of slavery, for women suffrage, for prohibition. Must the protection of the equal educational opportunities of children, the nation's right to maintain an intelligent citizenship, depend upon an unnecessary federal amendment, or will our political leaders and our anti-American agitators submit now and assist in the establishment of both by means of national aid and national organization?

EXCLUSIVE DEPARTMENT DESIRABLE¹²

Anticipating the question as to what objection there could be to adding "Health" to the Department of Education, I will say that our Supreme Council has not considered that proposition. Expressing a personal view, however, I venture the opinion that the Department of Education should have no other function attached to it whatever. Education of itself is of sufficient importance to demand the ability, the capacity, the entire attention and the utmost concentration of the ablest man in the United States. I believe that there should not be

¹² From article "Sterling-Reed Bill," by John H. Cowles, 33°, Grand Commander of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States of America. *New Age*. 32: 208-10. April, 1924.

anything extraneous whatever to distract for one moment his endeavors from the work devolving upon him as Secretary of Education and as a member of the President's Cabinet.

The creation of such a department would put a responsibility on those who are advocating it, to see that it is not unduly expanded in any direction; and still speaking personally, I believe that many of the departments of the Government have so expanded that now they are too vast and have so many ramifications that it is impossible for the Secretaries to acquire full and complete knowledge of what is being done. Consequently, the head of any department has to rely too much on reports coming to him through too many hands. It would, therefore, seem to be better, in the interest both of efficiency and of economy, to have more departments and have them more exclusive or confined to limits normally within the capacity of able men to manage, being guided by personal intimacy with their various features.

After all, the President of the United States is the individual around whom revolves the whole system, and, if he knew that the reports brought to him by each Secretary were from the personal knowledge of that Secretary, he would have a great deal more confidence, and be more in accurate touch with the different departments than if he knew that these reports came to his Secretaries through several different sources; and in any event, the responsibility would rest upon the Secretary and could not be shifted to some assistant or the head of some bureau.

Anticipating also your question as to the preference of leaving the Bureau of Education as it is or creating a department with health or other features added, will say our Council has not considered that phase of the situation either. Speaking for myself, it is probable that a new department, with education mentioned first, would add to its standing; but whether it would accomplish more

would depend on its scope and provisions as created by Congress and the predilections of the Secretary who would be placed at the head of it. However, I believe it will be much easier to finally evolve an exclusive Department of Education out of the bureau, as presently constituted, than if changed.

I am confident that the masses of the people will not be satisfied until there is an exclusive Department of Education, and that they will continue to work strenuously to that end. A question is never settled until it is settled right, and it is for such a reason that we appeal to our statesmen to pass this measure now, and by so doing rise above partisan political advantage and party expediency, which has to a greater or less extent interfered with the passage of similar bills in the past. If you will do this I believe that there will be a great restoration of the loss of faith by a large element of our citizenship in both the great political parties, and which will mark a new era in getting back to a government in the interest of the people, relieving many of the belief that the people in Congress are more interested in securing advantages for their particular party or particular district than they are in accomplishing the greatest good to the greatest number.

CONTRIBUTES TO ADVANCEMENT AND PROGRESS ¹³

The Scottish Rite and other Masonic organizations are deeply interested in liberating mankind from the bondage of ignorance, but they realize that ideals and aspirations must never be dissociated from practical things, and that material things are necessities of life; yet they believe that ethical and spiritual values through education are conducive to real health and happiness, and

¹³ From statement of H. W. Witcover, secretary general of the Supreme Council, Southern Jurisdiction of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry. *New Age*. 32:210. April, 1924.

that a government which builds roads and highways as a contribution to the material welfare of the people could similarly contribute to their ethical and spiritual advancement through enlightenment and education; that the minds and character of the 25 million children, the future citizens of the country upon whom depends the continuity of our form of government, and as well the ten million illiterates and near-illiterates over ten years of age and the vast alien population, should receive such attention and development as to erect them into the full stature of responsible citizenship. Such a contribution to the advancement and progress of the people justifies and requires a separate department of the Government.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ¹⁴

The fundamental question is just this. Do we who are engaged in education want education represented in the national government? If we do it will be represented. The great things are always simple. Some of us don't want it represented. They feel education is too pure and modest a maiden to be sent so far from home. Her place is by the fireside or in the little red school house close by. If she corresponds the letters should not go farther than Springfield, and if she is permitted to receive callers they must not be aliens from Indiana or Iowa. If she sits in committee with rude and boisterous men like agriculture and labor her purity will be smirched and she will be no maiden suitable to mate with us, no demure Lady Jane Grey to whom the love of learning is the only solace, but an Elizabeth learned and powerful indeed, yet sterile and tyrannical. The tender solicitude of some of our college presidents and of our chambers of commerce for the purity and freedom of our fair maid education is as out of date as the determination of Mr.

¹⁴ From address by John H. McCracken, Lafayette College, before the Association of American Colleges, Chicago, January 10, 1925. *School and Society*. 21: 161-5. February 7, 1925.

See to save our daughters from the wiles of a college education. The bogies which lurk in the political shadows are just as real and just as important as the dangers awaiting our girls in the shadowy college cloisters. They are there, they threaten, but somehow they do not strike. There may be lions in the way but if somebody has passed just ahead of you you quickly discover they are chained. The farmers are not crying out against the tyranny of the department of agriculture, the labor unions are not shouting "Down with the department of labor," even the chambers of commerce seem reconciled to a department of commerce and a federal trade commission. Is it strange, therefore, that education refuses to be appalled by the monsters said to lurk on the road to Washington. We have experimented for sixty years with a modest bureau of education. We know from the experiment on a small scale what tendencies are likely to manifest themselves on a large scale and we are not afraid.

To my mind this is not a question of details any more than the League of Nations is a question of details. It is a question of vision—of your dream of the perfect state, of your inherent desire as teachers to live and to create.

Let us not be concerned, lest there be nothing for a secretary of education to do because he can not control or direct education in the states, or because he has not millions to give his children if they are good. It is conceivable that ideas may be as important as indices, that even flights of imagination may yield the nation more than filing cabinets, that if the new secretary did nothing but lend an open ear to the thoughts and hopes and desires of the million teachers and twenty million scholars of the great republic and put them into words for public consideration his time might be fairly well occupied. And if in addition his office should become as complete a clearing house for international educational news as the secret service department of the navy is for war news, or the

consular service of state and commerce for business news, with its educational attaches as listening posts the world around, the department might become not only confidant and spokesman, but leader and teacher, and the new secretary of education, a man knowing human nature from top to bottom, husbanding a distant glory, willing to work in one age and to enjoy in another, might accept the invitation not of a Corsican soldier but of the schools and colleges of America and "condescend to trace plans for our educational system and to cooperate in the felicity of a whole nation."

NEGATIVE DISCUSSION

EDUCATION CONTROL¹

Once you establish a Federal department of education and in a startlingly brief time it will come to dominate completely and in detail your States in matters of education. That is the unbroken history of Federal bureaus. They may tell you such is not the purpose, and in that they may be perfectly sincere when they so declare. But they are uninformed as to the philosophy of centralization, its inevitable tendencies, its imperious qualities. They have not familiarized themselves sufficiently with the history of these Federal agencies.

The principle once admitted, the agency once established, the Federal power will ultimately direct, guide, dictate, and control the whole educational system from the mother's knee to the final departure from the campus. Indeed, that was the original conception of the Federal plan. The original plan and arguments contemplated exactly that, to wit, that the National Government should be omnipotent in educational affairs.

We were to have uniformity, the dead level of uniformity. We were to have Washington as the source of systems, the one leader in matters of education. We were to have a national system originating in Washington and nothing in all the Union was to be found out of harmony with it. It was to be imposed upon every

¹ From address by William E. Borah, United States senator from Idaho, delivered at Randolph-Macon Woman's College, March 12, 1926. *Congressional Record*. 67: 5594. March 15, 1926.

community in the broad land. It was aroused public opinion which modified the scheme.

But once established it will soon correspond in full with the original idea. Let no one be misled. A Federal department of education means Federal control of educational affairs. Those who do not want that should not be beguiled into the belief that that is not to be the ultimate achievement. It does not matter how modestly is your beginning, nor how profuse the promises, every State and every institution of learning will feel the compelling force of bureaucratic power.

The growth of bureaucracy in this country must be a matter of deep concern to everyone who still believes in free institutions, who would like to retain some of the principles with which, as a Government, we started. There is scarcely an activity of body or mind but is either already, or proposed to be, brought under the surveillance of the Government through some bureau.

I have seen a list of measures now pending before Congress in which it is proposed in some way to establish further bureaucratic control. Anyone who will examine these bills will find that the restless legislative mind does not propose to leave any activity, any business, free of governmental direction and surveillance. Bureaucratic control is bad at best. But it is peculiarly vicious when it takes over and places under national control those things which ought to remain with the State, and that is its inevitable tendency.

If departments and bureaus established at Washington would be content to deal with purely national problems, the situation might be endured. But the first move of these bureaus is to reach for those things which are distinctly personal and distinctly local. They feel an uncontrollable desire to look after individual interests and to direct personal affairs. They draw to the National Government and place under national control matters which should be dealt with by the State and which can only be successfully dealt with by the State.

These bureaus therefore become the great agencies of centralization. They crowd into Congress and into the Capitol at Washington every conceivable matter of public and private concern. Instead of imbuing the citizen with a sense of responsibility and arousing within him interest in public matters, they would undermine and destroy both. Bureaucracy crowds the pay rolls. It would put the citizen in a strait-jacket. Its natural tendency is to destroy initiative, self-reliance, and individual courage, the great qualities of American citizenship. It is wasteful, extravagant, and demoralizing. It is the creeping paralysis of democracy. Good citizenship, self-helping citizenship, and representative government demand that we place a limit to this tendency, that we stay its progress and establish some point beyond which it can not be permitted to go.

Above all things, it should not be permitted to dominate our educational system. In the training of the mind and the building of character, in training men and women for citizenship, we want the community atmosphere, we want the local coloring, we want initiative, tolerance, variety, individuality. We want mind and soul and not mere mechanical direction. We want liberty of thought, freedom of opinion. We want that contrariety of view and that individuality which gives strength and health to our national life and intellectual force to our people.

I hope, therefore, we will leave our educational system under the control of the States and as nearly as may be in touch with the home. Leave it where the people will be found in close contact and where there will be every tendency to keep alive a keen interest and a deep sense of responsibility upon the part of the whole people. In matters of education there should be neither governmental monopoly nor the deadening uniformity of bureaucracy.

This Government depends at last upon the intelligence and character of the average citizen. His constant, vigilant interest in public matters is indispensable to the success of this great experiment. The idea that the Government should be a universal provider and guarantor against all risks and wants of human existence is at war with our whole theory of government. The theory that there is a wisdom at Washington with reference to purely personal and local concerns superior to the wisdom found at home and in the communities or the States is not the theory upon which our Government was organized.

CURTIS-REED BILL: DISGUISED FEDERAL CONTROL ²

After seven years of battle, the Curtis-Reed bill (S. 291 and H.R. 5,000) introduced by Senator Curtis, of Kansas, floor-leader of the Senate, on December 8, 1925, and Representative Reed, of New York, on December 11, 1925, was offered as a compromise. It dropped the educational attachés to foreign countries, the subsidies to the States, and the authorization of an annual appropriation of \$100,000,000. But it established a Federal Department of Education, an Executive Department, with a Secretary of Education, to be appointed as are other Cabinet officers, by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

With few exceptions the proponents of the old Smith-Towner plan rallied to the support of the Curtis-Reed bill. Once more the propaganda, tireless and intensive, began in every part of the country. The argument was as varied as before; but it can be considered briefly under the following leads.

² From pamphlet "Shall Washington Control Our Schools?" by Paul L. Blakely, Ph.D. p. 5-9. America Press, Grand Central Terminal. New York. 1926.

A. THIS IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD
THAT HAS NO MINISTER OF EDUCATION

To this, the answer is, of course, that this is the only country in the world that has forty-eight. This official exists in every jurisdiction which needs or admits of one, that is, in every State of the Union. In addition, we have thousands of local school-board members, city and county superintendents and their associates.

B. THE DIGNITY OF EDUCATION REQUIRES
THAT IT BE REPRESENTED IN THE CABINET.

If "dignity" and not a need provided for, directly or indirectly, by the Federal Constitution, be the proper and compelling reason for the creation of Federal departments, where shall we stop? Cannot a professional man uphold his dignity without first cupping an ear toward Washington? Dancing is dignified—or may be—so, too, is plumbing and the art of baking bread; or any useful activity. Higher in the scale is the art and science of home-making. But there is no reason why these useful and necessary occupations should be represented by name in the Cabinet.

To shift the angle, nothing is more encompassed with dignity than the reverent public worship of Almighty God and the diligent teaching of His law. Shall we therefore have a Secretary or, as he is termed in those foreign countries from which we are bidden to learn wisdom, a Minister of Religion?

True, the creation of this official would be quite without justification in the Constitution. That, too, is the precise reason why there should be no Secretary of Education. "There is no Minister of Education," wrote Bryce many years ago in his "American Commonwealth," "because that department of business belongs to the several States." The framers of the Con-

stitution, so regarding it, have given Congress no power in that sphere.

C. THERE IS A CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
WHICH POINTS TO THE NEED OF A
FEDERAL SECRETARY

1. What is this crisis? Is it that *we are the most illiterate people in the world*, as some have said? We may be, but after diligent search I have never been able to find the evidence, nor, despite my request, has anyone furnished it to me. I am, of course, well acquainted with the alleged statistics, first published, I believe, by the National Education Association, but these are wholly inconclusive. Calculated on different bases and for different years, they afford no common standard whatever for comparison. No one with even an elementary acquaintance with the rules for the compilation and comparison of statistics would dream of accepting them. It is easy enough to make a set of figures sit up and beg or roll over and play dead, but jugglery is out of place in a serious discussion.

2. *Illiteracy in the United States is growing at an alarming rate*, say others. It is not. It has been decreasing at a very comfortable rate for half a century, and we are justified in concluding that it will continue to decrease. Figures submitted by the Federal Bureau of Education (Bulletin 1916, No. 35) show that in 1890, the percentage of illiteracy was 13.7. In 1900, it was 10.7. By 1910 it had fallen to 7.7, and the Census of 1920 reported a further drop to 6.

Let us examine the figures for 1920 more closely.

On their face they reveal that of every 100 persons, ten years of age and over, in the United States, six are illiterate. But who are these illiterates?

Some are foreigners who came to this country years ago when the gates were wide open. Their illiteracy

is not the fault of our schools, nor is it attributable to any serious negligence on our part.

Others are adult natives who passed their childhood in districts where schools were few, or perhaps totally lacking—a condition that is becoming rarer day by day.

Many are negroes, a class long neglected, but for whom we are today supplying better educational facilities.

It is therefore clear that a very fair proportion of the illiteracy noted in 1920 is due to conditions which no longer exist. Hence the illiteracy figures cannot be accepted as proof of a present or impending "crisis" in public education, so grave as to compel the intervention of the Federal Government.

When we turn to the illiteracy figures *for children* it becomes even more plain that this "crisis" is a mere bugaboo conjured up for propaganda purposes. Every State in the Union now has an attendance law, and in most jurisdictions the law is well enforced. The results are shown in the fact that while the illiteracy percentage in 1920 for the *entire country* was six, *for children* between the ages of 10 and 15, it was only 2.3. Since Negro illiteracy is still high (22.9 in 1920) it is probable that the illiteracy percentage for native white children is nearer one than 2.3. In New York City, where the illiteracy rate is 6.2 (although only 0.3 for the native white population) the rate in the 10-20 year-group is exactly one.

From these figures three inferences may be drawn. First, illiteracy is decreasing in this country; second, since the schools are annually reaching a larger proportion of the children, illiteracy will continue to decrease, and, third, the illiteracy reports indicate no need of Federal interference.

As Senator Thomas has written: "The educational systems of the States have functioned well. They are

not perfect; some are better than others, but all are improving with experience."

3. *Public education does not receive adequate financial support.* Much depends upon what is meant by "adequate." The "Financial Abstract of the United States" shows that the total annual expenditures for the public schools alone rose from \$78,094,687 in 1880, to \$140,506,715 in 1890; to \$214,964,618 in 1900; to \$426,250,434 in 1910; to \$1,045,053,545 in 1920; and to \$1,580,671,296 in 1922. Between 1920 and 1922 the increase was more than fifty per cent.

To put the matter in another way. In 1880 our per capita contribution to the public schools was about \$1.55. Forty years later it was nearly ten times that sum!

It is somewhat absurd to labor the point; but I think that these figures reflect general willingness of our people to tax themselves generously for the support of the public schools. No doubt much remains to be done, but there is not a State in the Union unable to support its schools, and a majority of the States meet their obligations fairly well. Nowhere is there such a delinquency as to justify the supposition that the power of local self-government has been lost.

4. *Some States seem unable to conduct their school affairs properly.*

There is no solid ground for this contention. Even should it be true, however, the Federal Government cannot provide a remedy. In order to give any Federal official the right or the duty to reform a local school system, it would be necessary to amend the Constitution of the United States. Congress has no power whatsoever in the premises.

If any State is unwilling to provide common schools, is either unwilling or unable to draw a suitable programme of studies, or is unwilling to pay its teachers

a proper salary, reform must come from within, since there is no constitutional way of imposing it from without. But it will not be seriously contended that these conditions are general in any State.

D. Practically all the arguments urged in favor of the Curtis-Reed bill creating a Federal Department of Education, without subsidies to the several States, fall under the above heads, or are more or less remotely connected with them. Perhaps special note should be made of the plea offered by a leading propagandist who spoke for the National Education Association. She said that the authorities in her school district did not appear to know how to construct and furnish school buildings, and she felt sure that the plans supplied by a Federal Secretary of Education would be in every respect admirable. "Were we directed from Washington how to erect school buildings and how to equip them," I replied with a mental apology to the author of the Declaration of Independence, "we should soon become illiterates."

PHIPPS BILL*

On February 24, 25 and 26, 1926, joint hearings on the Curtis-Reed Federal Education bill (S. 291-H.R. 5,000) were held by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and the House Committee on Education. More than seventy witnesses appeared, some to express the view set forth in these pages, others to oppose it. As Senator Phipps reported on May 6th, "It developed that there was a wide difference of opinion among leading educators and our citizens generally as to the need or wisdom of creating a separate department of education. The existence of several schools of thought

* From pamphlet "Shall Washington Control Our Schools?" by Paul L. Blakely, Ph.D. p. 9-16. America Press, Grand Central Terminal. New York. 1926.

relative to this matter cannot be gainsaid. A great many witnesses expressed themselves heartily in favor of the so-called educational bill, claiming that such functions and influence of the Federal Government should be widely extended throughout the United States, and that the cause of education should be properly recognized or 'dignified' by placing a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet.

"Many other witnesses strenuously protested the establishment of such a separate Department, claiming that it violated the constitutional authority, infringed upon the functions of the States and of local self-government, would lead to unfortunate standardization of educational principles, and would eventually bring about bureaucratic control of such matters by the central Government" (*Senate Calendar No. 782, Report No. 776*).

The Joint Committee therefore decided to set the Curtis-Reed bill aside, and with it the plan to establish a Department of Education, and to recommend in its place Senate bill No. 3533, known as the Phipps bill.

"The objects of this bill," writes its author, Senator Phipps, "are briefly set forth in the title. It defines the duties of the present Bureau of Education, and calls the attention of our citizens, including those engaged in teaching, to the help they may obtain from the Bureau for the asking. It specifically authorizes Federal studies and investigations into the following subjects: illiteracy; immigrant education; public-school education, including administration, school buildings, costs and curricula; physical education, including recreation and sanitation; preparation and supply of competent teachers for the public schools; and higher education.

"The bill provides for the selection of qualified departmental employes, chosen in accordance with the civil service laws, including an assistant commissioner of education, and authorizes the annual appropriation of an

additional \$250,000 or so much thereof as may be needed, for the Bureau's use.

"In addition, S. 3533 provides for proper cooperation with State school authorities, at their option, as well as with other educational agencies which may volunteer for the purpose. It also establishes a Federal Council of Education to bring about more united effort and general improvement in the educational work conducted by the various Government Departments. Finally, it sets up a National Council on Education, whose members shall be chosen from the public and private educational interests of the country, and who shall advise with the Bureau on educational matters" (*Senate Calendar No. 782, Report No. 776*).

Thus the Committee rejects the Federal Department and the authorization of an annual appropriation of \$100,000,000. The National Education Association still clings to its old plan, which, in my opinion, is the out-and-out Federal control of the 1918 Smith-Towner type. Some other associations have agreed to support the Phipps bill on the general ground that the Federal Government should be "represented in education" which is a curious variation on the earlier plea that education should be represented in the Federal Government. Others, finally, are content with the Phipps bill, but only to the extent that prepares the way for Federal control of the local schools.

Returning to the constitutional principle so briefly and correctly stated by Bryce, "there is no Minister of Education because that department of business belongs to the several States," it is in order to ask why the Federal Government should enact Federal statutes for a "business" which does not fall within its constitutional field. Have we not laws enough in this country?

In my judgment we need this inflated Bureau of Education about as sorely as an equatorial African needs earmuffs and a footwarmer. As I have already shown,

there is no "educational crisis," none, at least, in the sense that the respective States have exhausted all their resources, and must go down to destruction unless a crowd of Uncle Sams and Auntie Samuellas at Washington rush to the rescue. That the States are fulfilling their educational duties fairly well is shown by the fact that every decade for half a century has shown a decrease in illiteracy, and that every year sees thousands of new schools, and appropriations increased by hundreds of millions of dollars.

The delusion which sways the National Education Association and many of its followers who continually clamor for Federal counsel, advice, aid, or intervention, in this and in almost every human concern, is indeed curious. This delusion rests on the twofold assumption, of which the first is that the local communities either cannot or will not provide for their schools. The second is that every problem submitted to Washington, whether the problem be any of Washington's business or not, is solved with neatness, economy, and dispatch.

The first assumption is flatly contrary to fact. The folly of the second is amply evidenced by an examination of the file of that valuable publication, the *Congressional Record* from the post-war period to date.

There is, then, no call by the States for Federal assistance, and no reason whatever to believe that Washington could give any worth having, even if called upon. Let the cobbler stick to his last; he will make a failure should he be set up as a schoolmaster. Washington's last is not education, and the fundamental defect of the Phipps bill lies in the assumption that it is. When Washington begins to invade the States, with or without permission, for the purpose of investigation, it will soon find something which in the judgment of its experts, backed by the clamors of the Federal education group, calls for change or abolition. Every office-holder, even

though clothed in the briefest of petty authority, feels it incumbent upon him to prove his value and his importance by extending the limits of his commission.

It is wise to give this very human tendency no chance to develop in the field of local control of the local schools.

Further, however, there are positive reasons why Congress should decline to enact any bill (1) establishing a Department of Education, with or without subsidy; or (2) creating, as the Phipps bill does, a Federal Bureau with investigating and advisory powers. The first reason, as has been explained, is that control of the local schools and provision for them are the right and duty reserved to the States and prohibited to Congress. The Federal Government may intervene only when, as in the case of the Oregon law, a State attempts to hamper or destroy a right guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States.

The second reason is found in the pithy apothegm of the late Vice President Marshall who said that in his time at Washington he had seen many a plain bureau grow into a complete parlor and bedroom set. The latest variation of the Federal education bill sponsored by Senator Phipps may seem nothing but a harmless hobby. But it is not a hobby; it is a Trojan horse. Establish the Federal Government as an "adviser" of the schools, a position for which it has neither aptitude, capability nor constitutional justification, and it will not be long before the Federal Government is a controller. The doctrinaires whose ruling principle is that for every social or educational ill there is a Federal remedy, will see to it that once the camel gets his nose under the tent the rest of the animal will follow.

It is proper, therefore, to seize a club and belabor whatever portion of the animal's anatomy may be in reach. Immediate and direct resistance is wholly necessary. It is the only argument he can understand.

Unfortunately, the argument against any bill in Congress has only a limited appeal when based on constitutional concepts and principles. It goes home only to men and women who believe that the Constitution should be retained in its integrity, and who hold that changes made by subtle indirection undermine the stability of constitutional government. But with repetition the argument will win, as it merits, wider support. Education is an activity too intimately affecting the welfare of the people of the local communities to be entrusted to a Government which may function at a remove of three thousand miles. That is why in the Constitution no power in this respect was conferred upon the Congress. "I ask for no straining of words against the General Government nor yet against the States," wrote Jefferson toward the end of his long and distinguished career. "I believe the States can best govern our home concerns, and the General Government our foreign ones. I wish therefore to see maintained that wholesome distribution of powers established by the Constitution for the limitation of both . . ." (Letter to William Johnson, June 12, 1823).

Let us not reject the wisdom of the Fathers. With the cloud of overcentralization that now menaces us, insistence upon the retention of local rights and the fulfillment of local duties by the local communities daily becomes an obligation of more vital importance. Whatever the intention of its author, the Phipps bill by tending to transfer a domestic concern to the General Government, destroys "that wholesome distribution of powers established by the Constitution for the limitation of both."

From the beginning it was argued by the proponents of the Smith-Towner bill that the States needed "a form of stimulation" to use the euphemism of Keith and Bagley in their "The Nation and the Schools."

This stimulation was the annual subsidy of \$100,

000,000 to be furnished, ostensibly, by the Federal Government. In reality this "subsidy" meant that \$100,000,-000 would be collected from the people and then distributed after the steep overhead charges at Washington had been deducted. In return for this generosity the States were to relinquish their control over their schools.

If that argument was sound from 1918 to 1925, I fail to see why it is unsound today. If those who pleaded for Federal money from 1918 to 1925 really meant what they said, there is no reason why they should not continue to work directly or indirectly for the Federal-subsidy scheme. They do so work, but what they now plan is a kind of deferred payment. Get any sort of bill through Congress which authorizes the Federal Government to interest itself in purely domestic educational problems. After that, the "fifty-fifty" plan can gradually be attached on the ground that without it the Government cannot enforce its findings by making what it considers needed changes in the local schools.

Here we have the fundamental reason why the Phipps bill should be defeated. *It is simply the first step back to the Smith-Towner plan of complete Federal control.* A glorified bureau never remains content with its original jurisdiction. Like every government in this respect, it continually seeks to extend its powers.

As an example of the course which in all probability the Bureau of Education as established by the Phipps bill will take, let us examine the career of the Children's Bureau.

That Bureau was created to make surveys and gather statistics. The objection that it would in time become a very expensive instrument was met by the assurance that an appropriation of approximately \$25,000 would never be exceeded. "More will never be needed," protested Congressmen who favored the Bureau. "What would the Bureau do with it?" The appropriation for

1913 and the year following, was only \$26,400. Thereafter this Bureau began to grow into a parlor and bedroom set.

In 1916, the appropriation rose to \$164,500, and in 1918 it took a sudden leap to \$423,760!

Of course, there were reasons; there always are. When there is question of spending the tax-payer's money economy flies out the window. A note to the statistics furnished me by the Children's Bureau attributes the 1918 increase to the child-labor law afterwards declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. For the enforcement of this law the Bureau was assigned \$150,000, or almost six times the original appropriation—and this, be it noted, *for one only* among the many activities by this time carried on by the Bureau! But even with allowance made for this item, the original appropriation which, we had been assured would never be exceeded, had jumped from \$26,400 to \$273,760—an increase of tenfold in five years.

Then and there the old claim that the Bureau would never ask for more than \$26,500, in fact would not know what to do with more, lay down and died.

But we are not at the end of the passage. In 1919, the appropriation was \$518,160, or about *twenty times* what it was in 1913, which is fairly vigorous growth for an infant. This increase, I am informed, was caused by "\$150,000 for Children's Year; \$100,000 for Child Labor Contract Clause—all from the President's Fund—and \$125,000 for the enforcement of the child-labor act." In 1920 and 1921 appropriations dropped, because of the Supreme Court's rulings, to \$280,040 and \$271,000, respectively, but brigher days were in sight. So bright were they that from the figures submitted by the Bureau, I judge that a new system of keeping accounts went in force in 1922. In that year, under the head of appropriations for the Bureau, I find only \$271,040, an increase of a bare \$40 over 1921. This

looks like economy—but in the column to the right I find “Appropriations under the Maternity and Infancy Act, \$490,000, \$12,500 being allowed the Bureau for administrative purposes,” or a total of \$761,040. The \$26,400 of 1913 is now in its lonely grave, and at this point I may be permitted to observe that the new system of accounts insinuates a falsehood.

For the Shepperd-Towner maternity act appoints the chief of the Children’s Bureau to the Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene which it creates, and provides that “the Children’s Bureau of the Department of Labor shall be charged with the administration of the Act, except as herein otherwise provided, and the chief of the Children’s Bureau shall be the executive office” (Sec. 3). In plain language, the Shepperd-Towner act *enlarged the powers and stipends of the Children’s Bureau*, and while pretending to establish an independent Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene as a check, made it clear that for all intents and purposes the check and the Bureau were distinct in little more than name.

By 1923, then, the Children’s Bureau had stretched the original \$26,400 to \$1,551,040, thereby registering a multiplication of *more than fifty times the first appropriation*, and that in a brief ten years. This, I submit, is business at which even that master of efficiency, Mr. Henry Ford, would not wrinkle his placid nose.

Truly, there is something in the air at Washington which demands that every bureau grow as soon as possible into a complete parlor and bedroom set. In 1900 there were three Commissions at Washington, and they cost \$800,000 a year. Today there are twenty-seven and they cost about \$650,000,000 a year.

The lesson is plain. The Phipps bill is a return to the plan of expensive, inefficient, unconstitutional Federal control of the local schools. The same spirit which brought the Shepperd-Towner Federal maternity act into existence, over the protest of the American Medical

Association, wrote the original Smith-Towner Federal education bill. The men and women who worked for the maternity bill and the old education bill, are now enlisting support for the Phipps bill since they are confident that once the Department is established it is only a matter of time when the fifty-fifty appropriation can be added to it, as it was added to the Children's Bureau. Let us be wise in time and kill this Phipps bill, not scotch it.

OUR LABORATORIES IN GOVERNMENT⁴

In one outstanding particular the great American experience in democracy differs from all others and gives greater promise than any political experiment hitherto tried. It has the mobility to adapt its institutions to meet new conditions, and thus to preserve a vigorous and progressive national life. Our government was devised to sustain a dual purpose; to protect our people among nations by a great national power, and to preserve individual freedom by local self-government under guarantees from the Federal authority. Through the character of our government as a confederation of sovereign states, each with major power and responsibilities for the welfare of its own citizens, there were established forty-eight experimental laboratories for development in government. In a sense the state governments may be called central laboratories in government for the illustration may be carried further as there are hundreds of little laboratories in each State. The counties and the municipalities are also working ceaselessly on problems of human welfare. And they have all been vigorously conducted laboratories. Their experiments have not always been successful, but the

⁴ From article "Higher Education and the State Government," by Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, delivered at the University of Georgia Commencement, June 14, 1926. *High School Quarterly*. 14: 195-205. July, 1926.

very failures in some states have profited their sister states, and the injury of failing experiment has been but local. The successful experiments have spread from state to state with constant improvement until many of these newly invented ideas and institutions have become universal. From their experience our Federal institutions have also benefitted. A centralized government could never take the risks which many of these experiments have implied, and under such a government progress would have been infinitely slower, and perhaps so slow as to warrant the anticipation of ultimate national disaster by our critics.

I scarcely need to recall to you that the greatest of these experiments was universal free education at public expense. This revolution in public relations to education including higher learning was first experimented with by the colonists of Massachusetts and Virginia. But this very university was the first university to be chartered and provided for by one of our states. The creation of this vast system has been indeed a successful experiment in government. Its spread was bitterly opposed over many years but gradually it has become a universal reality. Today 25,000,000 children attend our grade schools; 3,500,000 our high schools, and 650,000 youth attend our colleges and universities. Today we have more youth in institutions of higher learning than have all the billion and a half other people in the world. These institutions have steadily grown under the fostering of the States. They have constantly improved under the vast fund of experience gained in successful experimental undertakings by their sister institutions.

As another demonstration of the mobility of our institutions, I could also cite the conception of governmental regulation and control of certain great public services in transportation, power and communications as the outgrowth of the state experimental laboratories in govern-

ment. I know of no greater danger in our history than that which at one time threatened our people through the domination of the important tools of industry and commerce. And from the solutions which were found by the state experiments, democracy reaffirmed its ability to maintain mastership in its own house. We have to thank the states of New Hampshire and Rhode Island for the first definite step toward public regulation. Other states followed quickly and added further thought and experience. No one of the States alone, nor any single Federal authority, could ever have evolved the progress we have so far made in successful regulation. Many ideas have been tried and found wanting. If these failures had been made on a national scale, with the difficulty of reversing obsolete national policies, we should have greatly stifled progress in the whole nation. And many of these successful ideas would never have been born in central authority.

Again, our governmental interest in the promotion of agriculture and in the development of scientific and economic research is the outgrowth of these experimental laboratories in government. I could mention a score of other specific solutions of political and economic problems—which found origin in the action of some pioneer state and gradually spread through the nation. The protection of women, children and orphans, great measures in protection of public health, workmen's compensation, are but part of a long catalogue of demonstrations of the creative force for progress which lies in the organization of our democracy. I need recite no more instances to prove that there is in our form of government a fine mobility never before duplicated in political history.

If we can retain this state sense of independence and responsibility in developing our institutions there is no fear of our atrophy which our critics have prophesied. And our real problem in this field is to prevent such

a surrender of the sovereignty of State Government. We all know well enough of the time when we heard much "states' rights." These forty-eight laboratories in government were born of states' rights. At one time the states insisted on doing their own experimenting and carrying on their own responsibilities. But latterly it seems that many of our states are willing enough to pass difficult questions up to Washington, or allow other states to carry the burden of solution. One of the difficulties in maintaining the forces of progress in other democracies has been the concentration of authority in a single center where from the nature of things they are slow to meet changing social and economic pressures. Our Federal Government can carry this centralization of authority much less easily than can other forms of government. It is ill-designed to carry such burdens. It is already so overloaded with affairs that it cannot even now do justice to the great diversity of local interests in our country. The infinite energies of this great mass of humanity will be dulled and their progress stopped if we are to attempt more than a minor part of their government from Washington. So we have now come to the necessity of urging states to assume their responsibilities and we will no longer hear of their "rights."

OVER-ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION^{*}

One of the most noteworthy of recent developments in American life is the zeal with which machinery is designed and built ostensibly to serve various public interests and undertakings, but in reality to control them. Perhaps in no other way is the decline of faith in liberty so clearly marked. An academic wit once defined good administration as the doing extremely well of that which

^{*} By Nicholas Murray Butler, president, Columbia University. In *Columbia University. Annual Report, 1921.* p. 20-3.

should not be done at all. If this clever phrase is to be applied to public administration it would have to be altered so as to read, the doing ill of that which should not be done at all; for public administration, administration by collective authority, is almost uniformly inefficient and for an obvious reason. In such case artificial choice takes the place of natural selection in the designation of agents, and since nature is wiser than man, particularly political man, efficiency at once declines. In the United States we are, in flat defiance of all our proclaimed principles and ideals, building a series of bureaucracies that will put to shame the best efforts of the government of the Tsar of all the Russias when in the heyday of its glory. We are surrounded by agents, special agents, inspectors and spies, and the people are called upon to support through their taxes in harmful and un-American activities whole armies of individuals who should be engaged in productive industry. When anything appears to go wrong, or when any desirable movement seems to lag, a cry goes up for the creation of some new board or commission, and for an appropriation of public funds to maintain it in reasonable comfort. An infinite number of blank forms must be filled and an infinite number of records must be kept, classified and audited at steadily mounting cost.

For a long time the excellent limitations of the American form of federal government held these movements in check, so far as the national government itself was concerned. When, however, the ingenious discovery was made that the national government might aid the states to do what lay within their province but was denied to the national government itself, the door was opened to a host of schemes. These have followed each other in rapid succession, all urged with a certain amount of plausibility and with an appeal to kindly sentiment, usually supported by vigorous propaganda and zealous paid agents.

So far as education is concerned, there has been over-organization for a long time past. Too many persons are engaged in supervising, in inspecting and in recording the work of other persons. There is too much machinery, and in consequence a steady temptation to lay more stress upon the form of education than upon its content. Statistics displace scholarship. There are, in addition, too many laws and too precise laws, and not enough opportunity for those mistakes and failures, due to individual initiative and experiment, which are the foundation for great and lasting success.

It is now proposed to bureaucratize and to bring into uniformity the educational system of the whole United States, while making the most solemn assurance that nothing of the kind is intended. The glory and the successes of education in the United States are due to its freedom, to its unevenness, to its reflection of the needs and ambitions and capacities of local communities, and people themselves. There is not money enough in the United States, even if every dollar of it were expended on education, to produce by federal authority or through what is naively called cooperation between the federal government and the several states, educational results that would be at all comparable with those that have already been reached under the free and natural system that has grown up among us. If tax-supported education be first encouraged and inspected, and then little by little completely controlled, by central authority, European experience shows precisely what will happen. In so far as the schools of France are controlled from the Ministry of Education in Paris, they tend to harden into uniform machines, and it is only when freedom is given to different types of school or to different localities, that any real progress is made. Anything worse than the system which has prevailed in Prussia would be difficult to imagine. It is universally acknowledged that the unhappy decline in German university freedom and ef-

fectiveness, and the equally unhappy subjection of the educated classes to the dictates of the political and military ruling groups, were the direct result of the highly centralized and efficient control from Berlin of the nation's schools and universities. For Americans now to accept oversight and direction of their tax-supported schools and colleges from Washington would mean that they had failed to learn one of the plainest and most weighty lessons of the war. It is true that education is a national problem and a national responsibility; it is also true that it has been characteristic of the American people to solve their most difficult national problems and to bear their heaviest national responsibilities through their own action in the field of liberty rather than through the agency of organized government. Once more to tap the federal treasury under the guise of aiding the states, and once more to establish an army of bureaucrats in Washington and another army of inspectors roaming at large throughout the land, will not only fail to accomplish any permanent improvement in the education of our people, but it will assist in effecting so great a revolution in our American form of government as one day to endanger its perpetuity. Illiteracy will not be sensibly diminished, if at all, by federal appropriations, nor will the physical health of the people be thereby improved. The major portion of any appropriation that may be made will certainly be swallowed up in meeting the cost of doing ill that which should not be done at all. The true path of advance in education is to be found in the direction of keeping the people's schools closely in touch with the people themselves. Bureaucrats and experts will speedily take the life out of even the best schools and reduce them to dried and mounted specimens of pedagogic fatuity. Unless the school is both the work and the pride of the community which it serves, it is nothing. A school system that grows naturally in response to the needs and ambitions of a hundred thousand different localities, will

be a better school system than any which can be imposed upon those localities by the aid of grants of public money from the federal treasury, accompanied by federal regulations, federal inspections, federal reports and federal uniformities.

CAN EFFECTIVE LEADERSHIP BE SECURED THROUGH A SECRETARY *

Differ as to Means—From the days when Washington in his farewell address, dwelt upon the necessity of an enlightened public opinion as essential to our form of government, to the present popular voice of alarm relative to the nation of "sixth graders" there has never been any serious note of discord. All are agreed that we must have an educated electorate. It would be impossible to stage, under any circumstances, a serious debate on the question of the importance of education. The only possible opportunity for debate is centered around a discussion of the *means* of obtaining this common objective.

Experience Varied—There have been wide variations in governmental machinery ranging from extreme local control, as exemplified in the district system in Massachusetts and Iowa; highly centralized state control, as exemplified in New York; and federal control, as exemplified under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes act. Thus we have tried local initiative, state control, and federal subsidy. Critics differ in their judgment as to the relative efficacy of the different plans.

Progress and Public Opinion—Real progress is ultimately dependent almost wholly upon *public opinion*. The tremendous increase in interest in public education

* Address by W. A. Jessup, delivered before the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, February 27, 1922. *Educational Record*. 3: 147-50. April, 1922.

and its relationship to the problem of Americanization, within recent years, has come about through an awakened public interest. Excellence in school conditions, whether we look to physical plant, economic reward or educational efficiency, has been directly in proportion to the dominant public sentiment within the community.

Public Opinion vs. Bureaucracy—The best single hope for obtaining desirable educational ends is through the creation of public opinion, directed toward the specific minor objectives involved in the whole. In the degree that a national organization for educational service will be a dominant factor in creating a favorable public opinion with a will to achieve, in that degree such an organization will be worth while, but in the degree that this national organization rests its case upon mere coercive devices and the routine activities of bureaucracy, in that degree the normal progress of education will be limited rather than advanced.

Recent Public Response Splendid—Future educational historians will note the years through which we are just passing and direct attention to the really marvelous progress that has been made in education since the war. And to what has this been due? Not to coercive policies but to the widespread response of leaders, to the import of facts relative to illiteracy, facts relative to the low mental maturity, facts relative to the need of a trained electorate. These facts, revealed by the war, came with something of a shock, but the response has been dazzling. An aroused public has brought better curricula, better buildings and equipment, and better instruction.

Voluntary Organization Responsible for Progress—Our progress thus far has come about through the leadership of great voluntary organizations which are peculiar to America, such as the National Education Association, the Department of Superintendence, the National

Society, and scores of other similar associations. These bodies have afforded opportunity for the development and interstimulation of hundreds of leaders who have worked in turn with other organizations, national, state, and local, to the end that we have created sentiment in every section of the land among all classes of persons irrespective of race, creed or party. Woe betide American education if any of this is lost. We must depend upon more of this, rather than less, in the future.

Short Term of Cabinet Officer—Much is being said in favor of a Cabinet officer representing education. In this connection it is important to consider certain factors involved. How long do Cabinet officers ordinarily remain in their positions?

The department of political science of the University of Iowa reports, after an investigation covering the fifteen administrations from 1861 to 1921, that there has been an average tenure of two and two-thirds years (excluding the ad interim appointments of only a few days). Thus there is no expectancy that a Secretary of Education would serve even during a single administration.

Not only are Cabinet officers in power for a short time but, as a part of party government, they and their recommendations are constantly subjected to bitter partisan criticism and with all of the legislative interference only too common in our state and national assemblies. Could the wisest educational statesman have escaped the bitterness of the last administration? Does anyone doubt that there will be equally hostile criticism of the present Cabinet? These partisan conflicts function in dramatic reversals of public policy, complete repudiation of programs. Are we wise in urging that education be thrust into this hurly-burly of partisan strife?

Who Will Serve?—Have we enough educational statesmen to afford to throw them on this wheel of short

tenure and bitter criticism? The supply is all too short for the places of leadership and responsibility where conditions of tenure and partisan interference have been made much more satisfactory.

Political Strife—Experience thus far in city, state and institutional control has led us to strive for longer tenure and freedom from partisan alignment. Even where statutory tenure has been short, it has been the practice to provide for continuity of service by force of public opinion. Certainly no one nowadays seriously favors partisan responsibility for educational administration in city, state, or university. Are we not in danger of proposing a system of partisan Cabinet representation which will actually lead to strife and ultimately to a divided public opinion in educational matters?

United Public Opinion Essential—I do not wish to be placed in a position of being an opponent of a national organization for educational service, but I do wish to keep uppermost in the discussion the importance of united aggressive public opinion. We need leadership having not only outstanding personality involving the highest type of statesmanship, but we need continuity and freedom from ordinary partisan alignments. Is this likely to happen with a Secretary of Education in the Cabinet?

A Constructive Suggestion—In connection with our program for a national organization for educational service, might we not draw a valuable lesson from the judicial department? Here we see the Supreme Court of the United States created and maintained under conditions of dignity, continuity and freedom from partisan dictation. Why should we not create our central machinery for national educational service after some such pattern as this rather than to cast ourselves into the whirlpool of politics?

TO CREATE A DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION¹

The Constitution does not mention education and nowhere gives the Federal Government authority to direct or control education. As this power was not reserved by the Constitution to the Federal Government, it is clear that the framers of the Constitution deliberately intended to vest in the States the power to establish, maintain, conduct, and control education. This does not mean that the framers of this Federal democracy failed to realize the importance of education, but that like many other activities vital to the welfare of our people they believed education could be carried on with better regard to the interests and wishes of the people, with better adaptation to local needs, and with greater efficiency and more economy if left to the States than if it should be federalized and so controlled and conducted by Federal officers located at the National Capital.

Great is the danger of handing the power of controlling the ideas and ideals of the growing generation to a group of bureaucrats located far away at the seat of government.

They may willfully do great damage. They may unwittingly sow seeds on a nation-wide scale which will fructify only after many quiet years of germination so that the noxious weeds can perhaps be eradicated only by the slow growth of public reaction after grievous injury to our body politic.

Germany, to her ruin and sorrow, has reaped her harvest from seeds quietly sown in her schools for many years by the Berlin bureaucracy. The world's history is strewn with the wreck of governments whose disintegration began when the people saw the local control of their dearest concerns taken away and concentrated in the

¹ From Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Majority report of the Special Committee on Education: participation of the federal government in education. 110p. Washington, D.C. November 20, 1922.

hands of a bureaucracy at the seat of empire. The creators of our Federal Government clearly foresaw and wisely undertook to protect us from the inefficiency and the dangers of overcentralization.

The genius of our people should and must control our schools. There is nowhere else to place this trust. But if our people are to control our schools and to cause them to be sensitive to their ideals, to their varying needs from year to year and from locality to locality, those in charge must be near them, accessible to them, and responsive to them. A vote once in two or six years for a Member of Congress or a Senator who is to live at the seat of government far from home, and who must be elected to attend to a hundred other things and can therefore rarely be elected on an educational issue, coupled with the rigidity which would almost certainly be attained by the managing bureaucracy at Washington, would make our school system about as sensitive and responsive to the average man as a ton of pig iron to a tack hammer.

Moreover, if our Government is to survive, if these 100,000,000 people, soon to become 200,000,000 people, made up of racial stocks from many countries, embodying many varying degrees and forms of civilization, and of governing knowledge or rather lack of knowledge of self-government, are to succeed in maintaining and carrying on this great Federal democracy, it will only be by the constant practice of local self-government in things which vitally concern them. Our people should have constant practice in critical local affairs, in affairs which are not matters of comparative indifference but of such vital consequence that the people of the community will be hurt, and seriously hurt, if they are not conducted properly. These alone will teach each succeeding generation and the millions of less experienced people arriving from foreign shores what good government is, what bad government is, and how to secure the former.

The doctrine of self-help, the idea that the things we get for ourselves are the best things we possess, that sturdily striving to care for ourselves builds character and citizenship, seems recently to have evaporated from the minds of many. They seem to think that each local group of American citizens should stand around like a Greek chorus waiting for the gods at Washington to make the next event happen.

Throughout the history of our national life the public-school system has been entirely under State and local government and has depended almost exclusively on State and local support. Under these conditions it has developed with constantly increasing effectiveness into a system which, in spite of all its defects, represents an achievement in education unparalleled in any other country.

It is the tendency of overzealous proponents of change in any field of human endeavor to overlook substantial merits and to exaggerate defects. Advocates of a revolution in our methods of support and control of public education have so directed attention to defects in our present system that we are in danger of overlooking its merits. It is necessary, therefore, to review briefly the great development of public education within the past 50 years.

In the 28 years from 1890 to 1918 local taxation for public schools increased from \$97,222,426 to \$580,619,460, or 498 per cent. The increase in the value of school property is not less remarkable, the increase being from \$130,383,008 in 1870 to \$1,983,508,818 in 1918.

Not only has there been a notable increase in the quantity of education given our children since 1870, but even more notable has been the improvement in the quality of our schools; better teachers, better text-books, better methods of instruction, better buildings and equipment; the whole spirit of our public-school instruction has been revolutionized in the past 50 years, or even within the

past two decades. Within a brief period of time we have seen the real development of the kindergarten, a new science of educational psychology with less emphasis upon learning from books and more emphasis upon learning by doing, the introduction of manual training, of drawing, of music, school gardens, playgrounds, and a multitude of other improvements in educational methods. It is safe to say that public education within the past two decades has made more rapid progress than for any corresponding period in the history of American education. In many respects within recent years the American school system has become the center of educational interest for the world.

The development of public education in this country has gone steadily forward in spite of certain serious obstacles to educational progress.

Chief among these obstacles should be mentioned the following facts: (1) That the South did not recover from the Civil War until toward the end of the nineteenth century; (2) that the enfranchisement of nearly 4,000,000 negro slaves thrust upon the South and upon the country, a tremendous educational problem; (3) that the constant stream of immigrants, particularly from eastern and southern Europe, presented educational problems of great magnitude.

It should be noted also that many of the defects which we now recognize in our system of public education are defects of which we have become conscious only within the last few years. Some of the defects were not clear to the American people until the disclosures of the selective draft. Other defects have been disclosed only within recent years as improved methods of educational analysis have been available and as comprehensive surveys and intensive investigations have brought to light conditions which may have been familiar to specialists in education, but which were not known to people in general.

It is further to be noted that within the last few

years the science of education has developed far higher standards for education and that it is unfair to indict States and communities for failure to reach right away educational standards which have been raised markedly within a short time.

Never have the States and communities been so alive to the needs of education and so ready to meet those needs as at the present time.

These attacks are based largely upon conditions which came to light or received new emphasis as the result of our war experiences, and the charges are as follows:

1. The illiteracy of our people.
2. Failure to Americanize the foreign-born population.
3. Low physical standard of our population.
4. Inadequate rural schools.
5. Shortage of teachers.
6. Low salaries of teachers.
7. Poor quality of teachers,

The attack along the lines has been developed by what we think may be described as the "shock" method.

Some of these conditions, like the acute shortage of teachers, applied to every line of public and private activity and were temporary in their nature and are now fast approaching, if not already back, to normal. The war unquestionably also did reveal to us in education as in other directions weaknesses which should be attended to and mended as soon as possible.

We must maintain, however, our perspective as to these things, and we want to say at the outset that the war also revealed, in a way that inspired the soul of every American citizen, the essential vigor and strength of the American people and the soundness of American institutions. It established that, despite a recent Civil War, and despite the many alien and polyglot elements of which our population is composed, there was a national consciousness, intense, united, and vigorous, cer-

tainly not surpassed by any other belligerent nation. The intelligence, resourcefulness, and skill of our men in the field, and of the men and women in the workshops and civilian war activities, bore eloquent witness to the general soundness of the educational training of our people.

Not only has the percentage of illiteracy decreased, as we have already noted, but the actual number of illiterates has decreased substantially in every decade. The census figures since 1890 are as follows:

Year	Number of illiterates	Per cent of total population
1890	6,324,702	13.3
1900	6,180,069	10.7
1910	5,516,163	7.7
1920	4,931,905	6.0

The percentage of illiteracy, according to the 1920 census, is 6 per cent.

There have been so many erroneous conclusions based upon the psychological tests given in the Army that it has become essential to carefully analyze the data.

It will be seen from the official statement that strictly speaking there was no examination for literacy in the drafted Army. About 1,500,000 men were given psychological tests and were divided for that purpose into two groups—those who were supposed to be able to read and write English readily enough to answer questions in a very short time, measured by a stop watch; and those whose knowledge was presumably insufficient for that kind of an examination. In some camps the men were asked if they could read newspapers and write letters in English; in other camps they were asked if they had finished four, six, or even seven grades in school. For three of the camps no basis for the testing of literacy was reported. The other camps varied from the third-grade standard, as in Camp Wadsworth, to seventh-grade standard, as in Camp Wheeler and in Camp Grant, in the

latter camp this meaning ability to "read and write rapidly." In seven camps the standard was not defined in terms of school grades, but solely as "read and write," meaning sufficient facility in reading newspapers and writing letters home in English to satisfy the particular examining officer. In a number of cases the standard was changed during the period covered by the statistics, though the number of men examined on each of the respective bases is not stated. The tests were so far from being uniform that they hardly warrant a definite conclusion.

It is also true that the men submitted to these psychological tests did not accurately represent our general population for four reasons: First, they were all men from 21 to 31 years of age, and the 1920 census shows that in this age group there exists even among natives an illiteracy rate at least twice as great as that of the general average of the total population if we go down to children over 10, because of the steady improvement in our schools. Second, because so many immigrants to this country come at about the age of 20, and, moreover, a large proportion of them are males, so that the proportion of foreign-born men of military age is much greater than among the population at large. Third, there were 1,400,000 volunteers. Fourth, there were hundreds of thousands of men excused from the draft on account of being public officials or ministers or students or indispensable employees in war industries, and there can be no doubt that the amount of illiteracy among these men was much less than that in the drafted group.

The Army tests did bring home to us, however, that a distressingly large proportion of our population must still be classified as "less literate"—the term used in the Army report—but that is not the same as illiterate and its definition is far from being clear.

There are three distinct problems involved in the lit-

eracy situation—the native white population, negro population, and foreign-born population.

The number of native white illiterates has decreased steadily and rapidly since 1880. Whereas in 1880 out of every thousand native whites 10 years old and over, 87 were illiterate, in 1920 only 20 were illiterate. During the past decade the percentage of illiteracy decreased in every single State except those which had already reached in 1910 what is virtually an irreducible minimum—less than one-half of 1 per cent.

Negro illiteracy has also shown a steady decrease since 1880, as appears by the following census statistics: 1880—700 out of every thousand negroes of 10 years of age and over were illiterate; 1920—the number had been reduced to 229 out of every thousand. Although the percentage of negro illiteracy is still much higher than that of the whites, the steady improvement indicated shows good, indeed remarkable, progress. We must bear in mind that the illiteracy problem of the negroes has been entirely separate from that of the whites because at the close of the Civil War the negro population (approximately 4,000,000) was almost entirely illiterate, and it was hardly possible to make much progress in the education of the illiterate negro adults. The statistics show the result of the gradual dying off of the older illiterate negroes and the effect of the educational opportunities which have been created for negro children during the past few decades.

The increase in the number of foreign-born illiterates can not be considered as an indictment of our public-school system. It was the result of our policy of admitting immigrants without prescribing any test for literacy. From 1896 to 1921 there were 3,450,000 immigrants (mostly adults) admitted into the United States who could not read or write in any language. It is therefore not surprising to find that in 1920 there had been a slight increase in the number of foreign-born illiterates as com-

pared with 1910. Congress in 1917 went to the very heart of the problem of foreign-born illiteracy by providing that thereafter no more illiterate immigrants should be allowed to enter this country. This is one of the causes now in operation which beyond peradventure of a doubt will cause the next census to show a drop in illiteracy beyond anything heretofore accomplished in the United States.

Since the war the importance of physical education as a part of the public educational system has had a rapid development throughout the Nation, and in 1918, 39 States had legislation on health or physical education, and several States have passed legislation since that time. Today there are hundreds of public, semipublic, private, and philanthropic agencies of National, State, and local scope working for the improvement of the health of the people, with an annual expenditure of many millions of dollars. Not only are the States almost universally putting into effect physical education programs in the public schools, but the movement is also being fostered by the development of organized athletics and outdoor sports of all kinds, by the rapid growth of the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, and many other kindred organizations.

It is true that in the rapid educational progress of the past generation the rural schools have failed to keep pace with the advance in our cities, but there is much evidence that most of the States are making great efforts to improve the condition of their rural schools. They are better today in many States than they have ever been in the past. Many States are now engaged in establishing "consolidated" rural schools by combining several of the district schools and furnishing transportation to the pupils. This consolidated school movement is spreading all over the country. It is going especially strong in the Middle West. The consolidated schools in the United States now number about 12,000. Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, and Colorado are some of the lead-

ing States in this movement. The obstacle to the growth of this movement caused by the poverty of some of the counties and other local government units, which is pointed out by the critics as perhaps the root of the evil, has already been remedied in most States by State equalization funds. To be sure, some difficulties are being met in the proper working out of some of these State funds but they are gradually being solved and the march is steadily forward.

The picture of the shortcomings of our educational system is in many respects exaggerated; in other cases inadequately analyzed. We find great interest and great activity on the part of the States. The important question in considering the criticisms of our public-school system that really have merit, such as the condition of the rural schools, inadequate compensation of school-teachers, lack of preparation of teachers, is to know whether we are making substantial progress on these difficult problems under the present system. Looking at the situation historically we find that, although we are still far from what we should attain, enormous progress has been made, especially in the past decade. We think it is clear that our present educational system has not failed.

Is there any State too poor to furnish a fair standard of educational opportunity to its children? No State has as yet established the fact that it can not provide a good common-school education for all its children and before we proceed to radically alter the theory and working of our Government we ought to insist upon a clear and accurate statement of the economic facts from the States which desire to make the claim. The wealth statistics presented to Congress show that the least wealthy States were all southern States. But there is an abundance of evidence from official State reports within these very States that the real difficulty is not poverty but that their systems of assessment and of taxation are poorly administered and of an antiquated and ineffective character.

It is claimed that in the United States public education suffers because it lacks the prestige of being represented in the Cabinet, whereas the cabinets of most nations contain a minister of public instruction. There is hardly an analogy here, however, because the Federal Government of the United States is something unknown among European nations, which are highly centralized, and where education is administered by the nation. The minister of education is the administrative officer in charge of the administration of education throughout the nation. It can hardly be seriously argued, however, that because there is no secretary of education in the Cabinet the people of the United States are more indifferent than other nations to the importance of education. It is common observation that there is no country in which education has a more vital hold upon the conscience and minds of the people than in the United States.

With reference to the furnishing of educational leadership, it seems that this is more a question of personality and of creation of ideals than of official position. The great leaders in the history of education have perhaps occasionally held official positions but more often not.

The putting of a secretary of education into the Cabinet necessarily means putting the interests of education into national politics. This is inevitable, and as bearing upon this point it is interesting to notice that in the 54 years since the Bureau of Education was established there have been but six commissioners. Cabinet officers are chosen from the party in power. Under a Democratic administration there will be a Democratic secretary of education, and under a Republican administration the secretary of education must be a Republican. The average tenure of office of a Cabinet officer during the period since 1861 has been two years and eight months. This indicates one of the difficulties which will be involved in seeking to increase the prestige of education by changing it from a bureau to a department.

There is a serious question, also, whether it is advisable to add further to the size of the Cabinet. The President has already proposed the creation of a new department, with a secretary in the Cabinet, to be known as the department of public welfare. In the draft of the bill presented by Senator Kenyon, it is proposed that there should be a division of education under this new department. If it is considered necessary to add another member to the Cabinet, it would seem on the whole preferable that it should be a department of public welfare along the lines recommended by the President, because if a department of education is created it is likely that there will be further departments created to represent other branches of public welfare, representing public health, for example, and perhaps eventually other social welfare activities.

Our review of the proposals for Federal participation in education and for the creation of a department of education has shown clearly the necessity for more comprehensive study and a deeper and sounder analysis of the educational problems of the Nation. We believe it is desirable that there be substantial increase in the appropriation for the present Bureau of Education to make it possible for educational research to be conducted on a larger scale and for a greater degree of leadership to be furnished to educational effort, especially in the more backward States. However, instead of increasing the appropriation of the bureau at one jump it will undoubtedly be more effective to make the increase gradually and the increased appropriation should be based upon definite proposals for the expenditure of the money.

REASONABLE LIMITS OF STATE ACTIVITY*

That there is a decided movement in the direction of centralizing authority over the educational agencies of

* From article by William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston. *Catholic Educational Review*. 17: 513-27. November, 1919.

the country cannot be denied. For some years now it has been constantly increasing in power and widening out more and more to embrace activities for which the parent or the home was formerly considered responsible. The medical inspection of schools, the physical examination and treatment of school children, the supplying of food for the indigent pupil, free dispensary treatment for the defective, and other similar provisions which have been added to the educational program of the state, all are signs of the spirit of machine centralization and control. It is manifested also in the increasing volume of legislation directed towards greater uniformity in school standards and closer organization in school management; in the approval of powerful and irresponsible Foundations; in the growing antipathy for private school systems; and in the cramping limitations placed upon the freedom of private educational institutions. Back of all this can be detected the philosophical principle of the French revolutionist, Danton, that the children belong to the state before they belong to the parents; and that other false and undemocratic principle, that the state should be the only educator of the nation.

Such teaching it is that is back of the ever-insistent scheme to establish a national university, and of the recent attempt to subject the educational agencies of the country to a ministry of education, with its center at Washington and its chief executive in the Cabinet of the President.

Right here, perhaps, we touch upon the strongest and most pernicious influence which the countries of Europe have exerted upon the educational theory of America. In Germany, especially, for the past fifty years there has been a state monopoly in education, from the primary school to the university. No educational policies, standards, or ideals were tolerated except those created by the omnipotent German state, and no teacher or institution could engage in educational work without a permit from

the government's educational bureau. To the state this system brought absolute control and authority over the varied activities of the people; it produced a uniformity of thought and of purpose in the nation, but it was at the expense of the people's freedom and individuality. And this system America is each year making more completely its own, because America's educators, trained along German lines in German universities, have failed to recognize beneath the apparent benefits of centralized control and uniformity, the noxious forces that were operating steadily towards Germany's final destruction.

In the light of recent happenings a state monopoly in education stands condemned. The disaster which has fallen upon the German people may be attributed to the fact that they allowed themselves to be absorbed in the omnipotent state. They sacrificed their liberty to pay for commercial and military efficiency; they allowed their self-reliant manhood to be legally suppressed and in the end they became mere puppets of the state, cogs in its complex machine. To the state they turned over the agencies of education, admitting, in practice at least, that their children were not their own, but the property of the nation; and the state monopoly in education that resulted became a powerful instrument for their enslavement. For the government that controls the thought of its people has them completely at its mercy; and absorbing their intellects in the sovereign intellect of the state, it can do with them as it pleases. This was pagan political philosophy revived, the Spartan state with its Lyscurgan legislation rejuvenated; and with these came the same penalty which the Greeks paid for their arrogance and despotism—ruin.

Apart, however, from these considerations which in themselves are for us sufficient reason for viewing with alarm the Prussian trend of educational policies here in our own country—apart from the fact that state supremacy in education would beget a bellicose nationalism and

lead inevitably to militarism and autocratic industrialism; apart from the further fact that the concentration of education in the hands of a few government officials would inevitably lessen popular interest in the schools, crush out individual enterprise and healthy competition, and, reducing all processes of training to a dead level of uniformity, would weaken the educational forces and through these civilizing influences in society—apart, I say, from such vital considerations there is the more serious and more fundamental reflection, that state control of education is in this country unconstitutional and everywhere an arrogant usurpation of parental rights.

In this land of liberty the laws and the spirit of the country have hitherto secured and encouraged freedom of education. Indeed, this freedom granted to parents in the education of their children follows as a corollary from the religious freedom guaranteed by the American Constitution to the American people. And as no state or government has the right to restrict the liberty of the individual in the practice of his religion, so also no state can with justice interfere with the individual in the education of his children, provided that education meets with the just requirements of the state.

A few words will make this clear. Under our laws every man is free to embrace and practice the religion he wishes, and he is free as a consequence to adopt every legitimate means to protect himself and his family in the possession of this constitutional right by the proper education of his children. For under the present public school system, religious instruction and training are allowed no place in the curriculum; and in the judgment of those American citizens who consider education and religion as inseparable, such a system cannot serve them in the exercise of religious freedom.

In this their judgment is sound and justified. The fundamental purpose of education is to secure for the child not temporal success alone, but, more urgent still,

eternal welfare as well; and thus in the training and development of youth the primary and all-important element is religion. Precisely because it makes a great difference upon religious belief whether the teacher accepts or rejects the principle of God's existence, and because as far as the child's moral training is concerned it surely matters much whether the school keeps religious truths in the foreground or passes them over in silence or indifference, freedom to educate must be, under the present secular school system, part and parcel of freedom to worship. Any attempt, therefore, to trespass on the one is an attempt to trespass upon the other.

Not only is this right of the parent to control the education of his children a constitutional right under our government; it is also under God an inalienable and inviolable right. The child belongs to the parent primarily and before all others. In determining the responsibility for education and the limits of state activity in this matter, that fundamental law of nature must never be out of mind. No more false or fatal proposition could ever be enunciated than that which would vest in the state the absolute and supreme ownership and control of its subjects.

This right of parental possession is a natural right with its foundation in the very fact of birth; and that right involves the right of the parent to feed, clothe, and to educate the child physically, intellectually, and morally. These rights involve the corresponding duties, and these the parent may neither evade nor ignore. Any state invasion of these rights or government interference with these duties is a violation of liberties that are God-given and which are by us inherited from those who gave America national independence.

This does not mean, however, that the state has no competence as an educator and no legitimate functions in the field of education. The very purpose of its existence, the protection of private rights and the promotion

of peace and happiness in society, suggests the right and the duty of the state to interest itself actively, under certain well-defined circumstances, in the training of its citizens. While always expected to foster and facilitate the work of private educational agencies, and to supplement the educational efforts of the citizens, there are times when the state must act, if its children are to be worthy citizens and competent voters. It has the right, therefore, to build schools and take every other legitimate means to safeguard itself against ignorance and against the weakness which follows from illiteracy. That is, its educational activity is justified when it is necessary to promote the common weal or to safeguard its own vital interests, which are endangered only when the child through neglect of its parent, fails to receive the education which is a right and a necessity.

Further than this the state cannot go without trespassing upon the rights of its subjects. It may encourage and promote education, but this does not necessitate a monopoly. It may provide schooling for children who would otherwise grow up in ignorance, but this is a supplementary right, not a primary and underived one. It may use constraint to bring such children to its schools, but when parents otherwise furnish proper education it cannot compel them to send children to the educational institutions it has established, nor can it exercise exclusively the function of education. And all this, because education is a parental, not a political, right, and the state exists to promote the welfare and to protect the rights of its citizens, not to antagonize or injure them. Different teaching than this comes only from those who know and care little of human rights, and less of the legitimate functions of a constitutional democracy.

Judged by these principles, which are the principles of sound political philosophy, the civil government in America stands accused of unreasonable trespasses upon the rights and liberties of its citizens. In the field of edu-

cation its interfering activities constitute a more serious menace, for there is no more dangerous monopoly than the monopoly of the despotic state over the minds of its people.

For this reason it is just here that the work of reform must begin. If the nation is to be turned aside from its present path towards autocracy, it must restrict its activities in all departments of the people's life, but especially in that which relates to the schools in which their children are trained. It must suppress its tendencies towards the nationalization, centralization, and standardization of education, get rid of its self-perpetuating educational boards and commissions, neither representative nor responsible to the people, and bring the control of education back to the parents, to whom it naturally and primarily belongs.

It is a truth that cannot be gainsaid that the country's most stalwart defenders are those parents who are educating their children in schools where God is recognized and religious training given the place of prominence. Their schools, which are the only schools in the land that harmonize with our national traditions, will protect the rights of the citizen because they will insist upon his dignity as a man, and, in the end, will procure vitality and strength for the nation when all governmental machineries and state establishments fail.

Let the state, therefore, cease that unreasonable interference in education which would hamper these schools in their most necessary and salutary work. Let it restore to its subjects in the field of education and in other private pursuits the fullest freedom consistent with the public welfare, lest it be guilty of folly in embracing the tyrannizing policies it has sacrificed so much blood and treasure to destroy, and justly incur the charge of hypocrisy in making a world-wide proclamation of democratic principles while at the same time doing violence to the spirit and genius of its own democratic institutions at home.

FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION *

I am in favor of a federal department of education for the better administration of all educational work which constitutionally belongs to the federal government, as such, including the invaluable work now conducted by the Bureau of Education. There are unquestionable advantages in bringing together under a common direction all of the services of the federal government having to do with education, but I am opposed to the administration of such a department by a secretary of education to be appointed by the president as a member of his cabinet. It is neither imperative nor desirable.

The principles which have dominated the organization and traditions of the president's cabinet are so well known that it is hardly necessary to mention them or to call them in question. Recent events abundantly illustrate their practical operation. The president's cabinet is his official family, the members of which are selected with political purposes uppermost in his mind. Members of this cabinet retain office only so long as they serve the political purposes of the president, and the exceptions to this are rare and inconsequential. This practice is so thoroughly established that no one disputes either its existence or its propriety. It is right and proper for the president to have as his official family the men whom he personally selects, and their terms of office should be at his pleasure. For anyone to suppose it would or should be otherwise with a secretary of education appointed by the president as a member of his cabinet is an unwarranted supposition, and if he is to be deprived of all power, as the advocates of the Smith-Towner bill now insist is the case in its amended form, of what political use can he be? Ours is a government by parties, and the instances in which cabinet officers use their officers for

* From article by W. P. Burris, dean, University of Cincinnati. *Elementary School Journal*. 20: 600-9. April, 1920.

party ends are so numerous that we dare not subject our educational interests to this hazard of party politics. Cabinet officers do have control and Senator Kenyon, himself a member of the educational committee of the present Congress, has recently declared that because of the great powers which cabinet officers have developed in the government, he would endeavor to have a plank inserted in the platform of the Republican party requiring the presidential nominee to make public his proposed cabinet appointments thirty days before the election.

For the administration of a federal department of education I favor an independent administrative federal board of education, acting thru executive officers whom they select. However unsatisfactory such independent administrative boards may be for the administration of other matters, education calls for just such a board. It is a form of administration which is consistent with the nature of educational work and the relations of such work to government. To this, experience in our best city and state systems of education and in the administration of colleges and universities bears eloquent testimony. And just because education should make government instead of government making education, the relation of education to government should everywhere be one of relative independence. The very nature of education, particularly in democracies, makes it a privileged institution with a large degree of autonomy in administration. For this reason we should once for all recognize the important principle that the administration of education should be as completely separated as possible from the administration of other affairs. It is especially important that we should do this in a country where we have government by parties, and it is no more desirable for the president to appoint the chief executive officer for education in the federal government than for governors and mayors to appoint such officers for the smaller units of government. No city would tolerate the practice, and

all states where it persists are trying to free themselves from it.

With regard to the best manner of constituting a federal board of education, little need be said here. For obvious reasons the ex-officio board is undesirable. The method of popular election is impracticable. The best method is by presidential appointment. The term should be long and the board should be small. Nine members, the same number as in our Supreme Court, appointed at the beginning so that they shall retire in rotation, one each year, their successors thereafter to serve nine years, is the ideal arrangement. The long term would prevent personal and political control by the president, and the responsibility for bad appointments would be so clear that he would be constrained to make good ones. The possibility of abuse would be further prevented by confirmation in the usual way, but confirmation by the Supreme Court would be better still.

Let there be the usual provisions for removal of members of this board, on grounds of immorality, malfeasance in office, incompetency, or neglect of duty, with the further provision that the president shall have the power to remove any of his own appointees for reasons satisfactory to himself. And then let this federal board of education, thus constituted, choose as its chief executive officer a commissioner of education, and upon his nomination such assistant commissioners of education and other agents as may be necessary for the efficient administration of our federal educational activities.

In this way continuity in the development of well-thought-out policies would be assured. Patronage in the appointment of a large number of assistants would be prevented. In a word the federal government would put its sanction upon those principles of reform in educational administration which are gaining in recognition in all lesser units of organization throughout the nation.

That these principles are sound no one can deny. They have stood the test of experience, whether the unit be large or small. They are consistent with the nature of educational work in its relation to democratic government. Every important volume on educational administration defends them. Dr. Snedden championed them to the last at the time the unfortunate arrangement was made by our Federal Board for our Vocational Education. When the Emergency Commission had the original educational bill in preparation, Commissioner Claxton advocated a federal board of education in accordance with them. So did Dr. Prosser. Why then, you may ask, were they not followed?

The answer to this question is to be found in the attitude of President Wilson and Congress. They were opposed to the creation of any more independent administrative boards, overlooking the important fact that however unsatisfactory such boards may be for administration of other matters, education, above all other interests, calls for just such a board. President Wilson has insisted that in view of the threefold organization of our government functions, all administrative boards belong to the executive department of the government. In recent years Congress has provided for certain boards and commissions whose employees the president appoints but whom, practically, he cannot remove. Under these circumstances he complained that there was a disastrous discrepancy between the responsibility of the president and his authority which the public could not understand. Consequently, he insisted at the time the Federal Board for Vocational Education was created, that if there was to be a board, the majority of its employees should be appointees over whom a president would have complete control.

But this position is unwarranted, for at the time our government was founded education was not regarded as a function of the federal government at all and this is to

be remembered in all subsequent legislation on the part of the federal government with regard to education. Education, indeed, as Professor Hollister has pointed out recently, has become a kind of fourth thing and should be relatively independent in its administration over all of the original threefold governmental functions which were in the president's mind.

So far as the attitude of Congress was concerned, suffice it to say that it, too, was opposed to the multiplication of independent administrative boards, at least those members of Congress who were consulted by the Commission, and knowing these things the Emergency Commission followed the plan which appeared most agreeable to Congress without any serious attempt, apparently, to show a better way.

These were the essential circumstances, as I gather them from correspondence, which led to the decision to draft a bill which provided for a cabinet officer instead of a federal board of education.

But whatever the form of organization for a federal department of education, I am opposed to any form of federal control, direct or indirect, over any kind of education work undertaken by the states.

I am opposed to federal control not only on account of its unconstitutionality, but on account of its undesirability. Such control whether direct or indirect, in the impressive words of a letter from Hon. Elihu Root on this matter, "calls for the exercise of power by the federal government which has not been committed to that government by the people of the United States in their Constitution, but has been reserved to the several states. It seems equally clear that no such power ought to be committed to the federal government, because it would be absolutely inconsistent with one of the two primary purposes of our system of government, that is to say, preservation of the right of local self-government in the

states, at the same time with the maintenance of national power."

RELATION OF STATE AND NATION¹⁰

The matter under consideration is a question of public policy, not of educational expediency or advantage. The question is primarily a political rather than an educational one. It does not rest for its solution upon any showing of the need for increasing educational facilities or checking the spread of illiteracy. There is no difference of opinion among us as to the need and desirability of doing these things to the utmost of our resources. Again, the question is not whether we should have a Federal Department of Education. There is room for such a department in any policy or plan that has been proposed.

Dr. S. P. Capen, the distinguished secretary of the American Council on Education, wrote in one of his reports about a year ago as follows: "While the control of education is still admitted to be the function of the States, and not of the Federal Government, one measure after another has found its way on to the statute books which tends to break down the integrity of this theory. By accretion, we are getting a nationalized system of education, more and more influenced, if not actually controlled, by the Federal Government. If we are not on our guard we will find ourselves in a position where not only the character of our educational processes, but immediate authority over them, and control of the means of their support, will be usurped by the Federal Government and put into the hands of some bureau at Washington, conducted by men who neither understand nor appreciate the necessity of the human element in education and educational machinery. Indeed, it is impossible for a bureau-

¹⁰ From address by David Kinley, president of the University of Illinois. *Illinois University Bulletin*. 19, no. 2. p. 31-46. February 6, 1922.

cratic administration to recognize the influence of the human element. It must work by rule, in a machine-like way. For that reason there are greater dangers in permitting the control of education to pass into bureaucratic hands than of almost any other department of our life."

Some proponents of Federal intervention in the new way ask for it on the general ground that the States have failed to do their duty in the field of education. They point for proof to the revelations of the amount of illiteracy shown in our army tests, although some people think these were exaggerated. But it is doubtful whether the failure of State and local officers is, in the long run, any greater than would be the failure of Federal officers.

If we admit that our departure from the substance of government set up in the Constitution is settled in practice, it is proper for any one of us to stop and question a new proposal that will lead us farther in this same direction. In other words, the real question is always the question of advisability, the question of policy, the question: "How far shall we go?" The problem is always to find that happy balance between Federal and State authority, between the extension of any authority, and the development of the individual sense of responsibility, which will conserve liberty in a satisfactory degree and at the same time give us a reasonably satisfactory condition of morals and welfare.

The most important question of internal administration before the American people today is whether or not this onward sweep of Federal control over the details of their local affairs shall go on. The part of that question which we are considering today is whether it is advisable to permit it to include our education. Shall we accept the doctrine that we are destined to become a great continental democracy, governed in all important public activities from Washington, or shall we try to preserve the local autonomy in communities and States which is neces-

sary to the preservation of our liberties? If we accept the doctrine that it is well to become a continental democracy, there is no need of further discussion, and State governments may as well be abandoned. If we do not accept that doctrine, but stand up against the present tendency, we should keep our State governments in substance and not merely in form. Above all, we should keep our education out of Federal bureaucratic control.

The bill provides that the department of education shall conduct studies and investigations in the field of education and report thereon. It provides that research shall be undertaken in illiteracy and certain other subjects. Just what is meant by research is not specified. It is open to the secretary to determine. Certain fields are indicated in which research shall be carried on and, in addition, it may be carried on "in such other fields as, in the judgment of the secretary of education, may require attention and study." Important fields of educational research are in the conduct of classes by teachers, the psychology of the classrooms, etc. May the secretary of education enter the school rooms of the country to conduct this research if, in his judgment, it requires attention and study? The very sources of information necessary for him to conduct his studies are either under his control for this purpose or they are not. If they are not, where does he get his authority to enter the schools of the sovereign states? Can he or his agents come into the University of Illinois and require its officers to make reports or conduct investigations for him or assist in their conduct or in any way give him their assistance, in the absence of a state law requiring them to do so? Yet, if this law passes, it will not be many years before he or someone representing him will be undertaking to do this very thing; and if the University of Illinois refuses, he will then use the pressure of professional, public, and other opinion, uninformed on the merits of the situation, to brow-beat the University into compliance.

FEDERAL ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATION²¹

In the case of education it is of the utmost importance that public schools should not be administered or controlled in any way by the federal government or by any other single agency. The organization of the Federal Education Office as part of the executive machinery is a dangerous first step in the direction of centralized control. The inevitable unfortunate results can be prevented only by starving the office financially, as has been done with the present Bureau of Education.

Under present conditions, it is suggested that it would be well to consider whether a practical and theoretically sound solution of this problem may not be had by creating a Federal Education Commission. Such a Commission might consist of five men appointed by the President because of conspicuous ability as educational leaders. The term of office of each might be five years and each might be eligible once for reappointment. The appointments might be so made that the term of one member would expire each year. By this plan there would be a gradual change in personnel, but no sudden disruption such as now occurs with change of administration. The salaries must be large enough to secure the best men in the country. Adequate funds must be granted to carry on the proper work of the Commission, which could be accurately defined in the statute creating the Commission.

It is recognized that there are objections to the creation of so-called independent boards and commissions as parts of the federal government. Examples are not wanting of the futility and failure of such organizations. The success of any enterprise, however, depends primarily on the men who are chosen to conduct it. All things considered, the plan herein suggested

²¹ From article by Dr. Charles Riborg Mann. *Educational Review*, 63: 102-9. February, 1922.

seems to solve the problem of a Federal Education Office better than any other yet proposed for the following reasons:

1. It recognizes that education is not an executive function of the federal government. There is no justification either explicit in the Constitution or implicit in the needs of our form of government for the federal government to administer and maintain schools or pay the running expenses of schools except as required for the training of men for national defense.

2. It gives education a proper dignity in the federal government by recognizing it as a profession like law and organizing it more along the lines of the Supreme Court than as an executive department with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

3. It tends to remove federal activities in education from politics, in that there is no change of office because of change of political administration. The President will appoint one member of the Commission each year, but the tenure of office for each member is five years so that there will be no abrupt changes. Since each member is eligible only once to reelection, the maximum tenure of office of any one member is ten years. Therefore, the Commission will not tend to get into a rut nor become fossilized.

4. It removes the danger of demands for large appropriations, because it would define clearly the federal functions of education and limit the activities of the Commission to those functions which do not include administration and financial support of civilian schools. Under the department organization there would be constant pressure for increased expansion and for the subsidizing of education by the federal government. If the members of the Commission are chosen with the same care as are Cabinet members—men of broad outlook as well as comprehension of the educational needs of the country, they will soon demonstrate that this

organization meets the needs of the situation without subsidies, and the campaign for subsidies will quickly subside.

5. It establishes sound democratic relations between the federal government and the states. It encourages the states to look to the federal government for opportunities to serve rather than to look upon the federal government as a source of easy money. It encourages the people to consider what they can give rather than what they can get.

FEDERALIZATION AND STATE EDUCATIONAL BANKRUPTCY¹²

Why not now attempt to increase the school funds through state taxation and state appropriation? Why not attempt to improve the state educational organization to bring about the ends sought through federal reorganization and taxation? No student of American education will claim that state educational departments have exhausted all the means at their command to bring about the desirable educational results. Who will say that the organization of the state educational departments are even built on correct principles? Who will say that the quality of educational leadership in the states comes anywhere near the opportunities for educational services offered through state organization?

If no other fact were needed to explain the policy of drift and opportunism that is so characteristic of our state educational departments, this one would be sufficient: that the administration of the common schools of the country, so far as the state is concerned, is in the hands of politically elected state superintendents in thirty-eight odd states. Competent and courageous

¹² From article by Dr. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, secretary of the State Board of Education, Wisconsin. *Educational Review*, 63: 402-11. May, 1922.

educational leadership may come by this method, but in the history of the country it is exceedingly rare. There is a fairly definite consensus of educational opinion as to the best methods of organizing state departments of education, but apparently no concerted effort is made to substitute this correct organization for the admittedly inadequate one which exists, and, even where state boards of education are organized, there is compromise with this fundamentally wrong condition of elective state superintendents, and what is worse, the boards are in many states constituted largely of ex-officio political officers and sometimes of ex-officio educational officers, violating the fundamental principles of state school organization.

And so far as local organization is concerned, the county superintendency is largely political, rather than educational, in character; and in cities where high professional ideals are recognized, and correct principles of organization are given effect, the number of men of the requisite training and capacity for the city superintendency is far below immediate needs. Former Superintendent Spaulding, now head of the Department of Education in the Yale Graduate school, says:

There are not enough men and women available who are even fairly well qualified to assume the responsibility and to exercise the power concentrated in modern superintendencies. There are not enough who combine the requisite knowledge, intelligence, and wisdom, with the necessary force of character, temperament, endurance, and many other rare qualities. There are some; but the total number discoverable is quite insufficient to meet even present demands. And these demands are multiplying rapidly and are likely to multiply even more rapidly, not only as cities in growing numbers reorganize their educational systems, but as state and thousands of county superintendents become professionalized.

Instead of organizing this tremendous propaganda and great energy to secure more educational machinery and machinery more remote from the "situs" of the educational problem, why not direct effort to the already exist-

ing machinery, and as for money, no constitutional or other legal limitation upon the amount or method of state taxation exists, and consequently any state that is willing may frankly face its educational problem, particularly in its financial aspects.

There is one other aspect of the federalizing movement that may be commented upon here, and that is the creation of a new cabinet position—the Secretary of Education. I confess that I have not been enthusiastic about this proposal. I have regarded it as insignificant, compared to the problem of improving the state educational organization. The purpose is to give dignity to the chief educational officer of the United States; to have education recognized in the councils of the nation; and to secure a person fully up to the qualifications for the position. There may be something to this third reason, but in general the case is made up on the theory that the position is going to create leadership. People whom we would never listen to as private individuals attract our attention, not because of anything they say, but merely because of the fact that they hold official positions. The person with the requisite qualifications, i.e., with personality and educational insight, could from the platform of a Bureau of Education, let us call it an insignificant Bureau of a great Department, arouse the attention of the United States and make it live up to the full purposes of our democratic theory. A person not possessed of these qualities with all the prestige of a cabinet position and being recognized in the councils of the nation, and appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate of the United States, could not himself appreciate the necessary national service that needs to be performed and could not convince the nation as to its duty.

There is a good story of an old Greek who was given a very minor office. The office was not regarded as honorable or eminently respectable, but the Greek

pointed out a great truth when he said that if the office did not confer honor upon him, he would confer honor on the office. And so it is with the United States Commissionership of Education. The opportunity is there and only waits for the man to take advantage of the opportunity.

PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION¹³

The proposed department of education is: First, unnecessary; second, an unwarranted expansion of Federal control; and third, adds needless expense to the Federal Government. I shall vote against the Curtis-Reed bill and all such legislation.

The question of expanding the Bureau of Education into an executive department has been agitated for many years. I discussed the matter at length in 1916, and studied it for years prior thereto. In 1916 I expressed the opinion that there would probably be among the Cabinet officers of the future a secretary of education, but at that time no suggestion had been made for the expenditure of enormous sums for direct control of education in the States. The pending bill authorizes an appropriation of \$1,500,000 a year, but from the statements and previous activities of those supporting this bill the sum of \$1,500,000 is merely an initial appropriation. If this bill is passed, within five years pressure will be brought to bear upon Congress to make annual expenditures of \$100,000,000 or more.

It would seem not improper that the general educational interests of the Nation now fostered by the Bureau of Education should be combined with those activities of the Government which have in view proper training and specialized efficiency in the service of the Government itself. In order to do this, however, it is

¹³ From remarks of John Phillip Hill, representative from Maryland. *Congressional Record*. 67: 4590-1. February 25, 1926.

not necessary to have a new Cabinet officer at \$15,000 a year and a new assistant Cabinet officer at \$7,500 a year and an initial annual appropriation of \$1,500,000. The proposed department of education is unnecessary, because the present Bureau of Education can perform all necessary functions. If it needs more money for its legitimate purposes appropriate it, but do not create a new department.

In reference to the need of a new department of education, it will not be improper for me to quote the opinion of the man who was Commissioner of Education in 1916, the Hon. Philander P. Claxton, whose advice upon this subject is of very great interest and importance.

Mr. Claxton stated to me in 1916 that the Bureau of Education attempted definitely the following things: (1) To be a clearing house for accurate information in regard to all phases and problems of education in this country and throughout the world. (2) To be a clearing house for well-matured opinion; that is, the consensus of the best opinion on any particular problem of education, whether administrative, financial, or pedagogic. (3) To be a source of sound and reliable advice on any particular subject connected with education in any part of the United States. (4) To assist school officials and citizens in bringing about better educational conditions in any State or section of the country, and in bringing about better opportunities for education for all the people; that is, to conduct its own campaigns for educational betterment and to assist in campaigns conducted by States and local communities or by associations interested in any particular form of education. (5) In addition to the above he said, "It was trying to find its way toward working out a definite body of scientific knowledge in regard to education in general and methods of teaching in particular, to do something similar to what had been done by the Department of

Agriculture, working through the agricultural experiment stations in the several States for the 25 years prior to 1916."

As to the advisability of a separate department of education, Mr. Claxton said to me in 1916:

Just whether these things can be better done through a separate department with a Cabinet member at its head, or through a well-supported bureau in the Department of the Interior, I am unable to say. The separate department would have somewhat more independence and probably more influence than a bureau. But, on the other hand, a department with a Cabinet position would necessarily be more closely allied with changing partisan politics. No doubt there will some time be a department of education. This will, I think, come as a result of a large increase in the support and extension of the functions of the present bureau.

The Curtis-Reed bill does not, from the specific terms of the bill, extend the functions of Federal supervision of education. The Curtis-Reed bill provides, however, a basis on which an enormous extension can and undoubtedly will be made. I am in favor of all manner of fostering education under the Bureau of Education, but I consider a new department of education (1) unnecessary, (2) in its probable results an unwarranted extension of Federal jurisdiction, and (3) as needless expense, starting with more than \$1,500,000 a year.

Commissioner Claxton called attention to the fact that—

a department with a Cabinet position would necessarily be more closely allied with changing partisan politics.

When "partisan politics" get into a Federal system of intrastate education local self-government will be at an end. I am in favor of the best possible school and educational systems within the several States of this Union, but I am against Federal control of all national schools and education, and that is what the Curtis-Reed bill will ultimately mean if it is ever passed.

The Bureau of Education can minister to general

educational welfare. We do not need a new Cabinet post of secretary of education. It is another case of attempted usurpation of local State rights, and I am against it.

DANGERS OF FEDERALIZED EDUCATION²⁴

The Sixty-seventh Congress witnessed the introduction of over eighty education bills. The controlling purpose of the majority of these bills was to increase Federal aid and thereby Federal supervision of education. At the present moment more than forty educational measures are before Congress. Many of these are of little or no general significance having to do with matters properly within the province and under the supervision of Congress. There are, however, a dozen or so bills of major importance any one of which would, should it become law, but solder anew and more firmly the chains of Federal control which were first forged by the Agricultural and Vocational Education acts of 1914 and 1917.

The most important of the education measures upon which the present Congress is expected to act is the Sterling-Reed bill. This bill, in the view of many, would nationalize the school, despite a proviso inserted in the bill which states that "this act shall not be construed to imply Federal control of education within the States."

The term nationalization has an unsavory connotation; it conjures up in the popular mind implications of a social and economic nature which we associate ordinarily with the governmental experiments of extremists. The nationalization of mines, of the railroads, of the home are familiar examples; these, however, are such radical ventures in government that in rejecting them a great deal of odium has become attached to the

²⁴ From article by James H. Ryan, Ph.D., professor, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. *Current History*. 20: 926-31. September, 1924.

phrase itself. An education policy which comes before us in the name of nationalization cannot expect a very favorable audience. Because of this prejudice, therefore, we hear but little about the nationalization of the school, although this aim is being defended by an increasing number of thinkers and is the theme of widespread propaganda. The advocates of the nationalized school are quick to repudiate the usual associations of the term, while maintaining intact the purposes which it covers. They speak ordinarily of the national significance of education, or allude to the school as a national problem, and urge nationalization as a measure of educational reorganization. In place of a system of State schools, these reformers advocate that the nation assume control of education and conduct our educational establishments from Washington. The schools thus would be nationalized in fact, but without use of this obnoxious word.

Any discussion of the place of education in a democracy must, to be constructive, begin with a precise definition of the terms involved. One can readily acknowledge that the school is a subject of national significance, that the future of the nation depends to a large degree upon the kind and extent of education which our children shall receive, without at the same time accepting the philosophy which insists that such objectives can only be obtained adequately if we are willing to place the school under Federal control.

Few words are exposed to more widely varying connotations than the term "national." It may possess any one of countless significations, each differing widely from the other. Thus "national" may signify anything which is found throughout the nation; in this sense, a certain brand of soap or Pullman sleeping cars may be described as national; in the same sense the school is a national institution. National may also mean that which pertains in a particular fashion to the National Govern-

ment, as the Army or the Post Office. Viewed from this angle, the school is most certainly not national. Moreover, we may call a thing national which promotes a national spirit, outlook or viewpoint. Few will question that the school is national in this last meaning of the term, for by its use of one language, its insistence upon a minimum of mental training for all the children of the nation, its teaching of those things which will prepare the children of today to assume tomorrow the duties and responsibilities of an intelligent citizenship, it lays the foundation for a universal understanding of the principles upon which our national well-being has been constructed, and toward the maintenance of which knowledge is one of the accepted prerequisites.

It is one thing to say that the school is national; it is quite another to contend that education must be nationalized. It is at this point that the weakness of the position of the advocates of the nationalist philosophy becomes evident. To argue from the national significance or nation-wide extent of a product or a process to its nationalization is unsound logic. Policemen are found throughout the country and are, therefore, of national significance, as far as the preservation of the public order is concerned. The same may be said of courts, transportation companies, local health agencies and many other institutions and agencies of social and commercial life. No political thinker, outside *communist circles*, would argue from this to the nationalization of our police courts, banks or boards of health simply because they function in the long run for the benefit of the people as a whole. In the field of education illiteracy is much more than a local problem, but it scarcely follows from this admission that the only way, or even the correct way, to wipe out ignorance is to call upon the Federal Government to assume control of the local agencies which are fighting against illiteracy. Whether the belief in the need of a nationalized educa-

tion is the result of a definite philosophy of government or merely the conclusion from a false understanding of terms, many people fail completely to perceive that the nationalization of education entails a complete overthrow of our traditional attitude toward the school. No doubt they would be chagrined if one were to call their plan socialistic. An unbiased examination of the trend toward federalized education cannot but convince the student that in tendency, at least, the movement is socialistic, if pursued along certain lines, and autocratic and tyrannical if it should develop along other lines.

Nationalism is a good thing in itself. That it can be, that it has been, carried to extremes no one acquainted with the recent history of Europe may doubt. There are dangers to democracy in a perverted nationalism, no less than in an exaggerated internationalism. We in the United States have been able to steer safely between the two extremes. Powerful forces are drawing us in both directions, however, and no man can predict with assurance which, if either, road the nation shall eventually take. The significant aspect of these widespread movements in favor of nationalism and internationalism is that the leaders place emphasis upon the general problems of society and the need of a general solution of the same, and view with contempt the elements of local control and initiative, which latter we have always looked upon as the very heart of our democratic beliefs. Many people accept the doctrine of centralization for the simple reason that it is centralization. To them the Federal Government appears to be possessed of some magic virtue by which everything it touches turns to gold. Such blind faith in the power of government to settle all questions satisfactorily is incredibly childish. The Government does many things well, but it also does many things badly; witness the leasing of the naval oil reserves and the conduct of

the Veterans' Bureau. So far from it being certain that Washington must be successful if it took over the management of the schools of the country, the record of Congress, in so far as it has proffered aid and assumed a certain amount of control over education, leads to the conclusion that much is not to be expected from Federal interference with the school policies of the different States.

Those who believe in federalization for its own sake will hardly be convinced of the perils to education from a recital of the hazards involved in Government control of the schools. There exists, however, a strong public opinion, and it is growing stronger every day, which views the continued usurpations by the Federal Government of the rights and duties of the individual States as a direct menace to the perpetuation of that correct balance which must exist between the functions of each if the constitutional form of government under which we live is to be preserved in its entirety and pristine vigor. Nor is the fear of Federal aggression confined to those who might be expected to discover traces of it everywhere—the Governors and Legislatures of the several States. The late President Harding, in what was considered his most forcible speech, delivered at the Plymouth Centenary, said: "The one outstanding danger of today is the tendency to turn to Washington for the things which are the tasks or the duties of the forty-eight Commonwealths which constitute the State." President Coolidge has taken the same position, both in his first message to Congress and in recent speeches. The constitutional history of the United States has been marked by the gradual but definite extension of the powers of the central Government. This development has reached such a pass that well-grounded fears are expressed on all sides for the continuance of anything like an effective system of States' rights. Congress has appealed again and again to the general welfare

and commerce clauses of the Constitution to justify a whole series of enactments by which it has obtained more and more control over the functions of the States, especially in the social and economic fields. As a result of these encroachments the influence of Congress is already very large if not predominant, in the regulation of public morals, the promotion of public health, the control of transportation, business corporations, and even labor. It has already branched out into the field of public education, since the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts bestow upon the Federal Government a directive influence on the course of agricultural and vocational education throughout the nation.

Control of education is not one of the powers which has been bestowed by the Constitution on the Federal Government. On the contrary, this control is vested in the several States. Historically, education has always been a matter for local control and encouragement. The natural and inevitable results of national "encouragement" of education would be national standards for the schools, national courses of study, national educational methods—in a word national conformity, which would finally paralyze local initiative and impose upon every community a set of rigid standards wholly unadaptable to local needs and conditions.

Moreover, it is pure conjecture to assume that if we possessed a Federal Department of education we would automatically have good schools.

What education needs in the United States is not Federal control but better State control. The fact that some States have been negligent in providing adequately for their schools is no reason for asking the central Government to take over these educational systems. The backward States may be stimulated to greater effort by Federal grants, but one may well question whether in the last analysis it would not be better for these States to work out their own problems rather than de-

pend upon the central Government, which, if it appropriates money, must demand in return that the States accept the system of more or less inflexible educational standards which the Federal organization will set up. Many of the European countries subsidize education, it is true, but they also control education. France and Prussia are concrete examples of what a State-subsidized and State-controlled system of schools leads to.

The State of Oregon, which has given to the world, the exotic U'ren and the no less exotic experiments in Government which he has fathered, has recently voted a compulsory public school attendance law, according to which, after Jan. 1, 1926, every child in the State between the ages of 8 and 16 must attend the public school. Such legislation presents the theory of the nationalized school in full actuality, consecrating by law the doctrine that the child is the ward of the State. Fortunately, the Oregon law has been looked upon quite generally among educators as extreme and has been repudiated even by those who hold most firmly to the doctrine of Federalized education. So un-American is the Oregon law, so contrary to all practices of the various States toward the private school, so fraught with possible dangers to the cause of higher education, which is conducted for the most part under private and religious auspices, that the nationalist group lost no time in condemning the absurd lengths to which the people of that Commonwealth had gone to put their educational philosophy into every-day legislation. The State of Oregon has been abused for many things in the past; for nothing, however, has it been so roundly denounced as for the passage of the now famous Compulsory Education law. "Fancy, if you can," writes Nicholas Murray Butler, "what the future historian will say of the people of the State of Oregon who, one hundred and thirty years after the adoption of the Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, enact by popular vote a statute

which makes elementary education a Government monopoly." Fortunately, the Judges of our Federal courts declared the compulsory public school attendance measure unconstitutional—a decision that settles for all time the question to whom the child belongs. He is not a "national child," neither has the Federal Government nor any individual State the right, under the Constitution, to nationalize the school to such an extent that all private initiative in education must be done away with. This one good effect, at least, has followed in the wake of the temporary insanity which swept over the voters of Oregon in the Fall of 1921. The battle for the child need not be fought over again in the United States. The issue has been decided and the decision is against the nationalized school.

The extremes to which some professional educators are willing to go in their efforts to subordinate education to a narrowly nationalistic program may be illustrated further by the measures advocated by the well-known Professor Spaulding of Yale. According to his plan for educating the nation, "the training of young men for civic responsibility and vocational efficiency should culminate in a full twelve-month year of instruction, discipline and training to be carried on directly under the auspices of the National Government." Annually more than 1,000,000 young men between the ages of 17 and 21 would be compelled to receive instruction from the Government, the emphasis being placed upon physical and military education. As a matter of fact the military would naturally predominate, since "the immediate control of the student body should be exercised by a military staff under the War Department." Prussia in its worst militaristic moments never advocated anything quite so destructive of individual freedom and pregnant with such fatal consequences for democratic institutions as the Spaulding plan. This program was put forward as an answer to the economic and social problems resultant on the World War. Yet if the war

held any revelation for the student of education, it was assuredly the lesson of the need of decentralization of educational control. All students of modern Germany are agreed that no one factor is more responsible for the downfall of the empire than the bureaucratic system of education, which, since the days of Frederick I., has throttled all initiative and made of the school a mere machine for grinding out soldiers. To find, therefore, a leading educator advocating the adoption by the United States of the discredited Prussian system of education can but strike the beholder as another example of that intellectual blindness which seems to afflict so many thinkers today.

One of the great illusions which have troubled the minds of statesmen since the days of Sparta is that only in a Government-controlled and Government-conducted system of education can national security and well-being be found. Quite the reverse is the truth. State education, standardized, rigid and bureaucratized as it inevitably must be, has never and, in the very nature of things, cannot produce anything but machine-made citizens. The State school turns out men and women according to a narrowly conceived pattern. Because of its inherent inelasticity and fear of experimentation, the public school finds itself helpless before the infinite complexity of human needs and human endowments. Bertrand Russell, in his usual penetrating fashion, writes that a mechanistic education, such as is given by the modern State, strives to develop a population that is "tame" toward its rulers but "fierce" toward the enemy. Rooted in a perverse conception of nationalism, controlled by politicians, weighed down by the awful load which is imposed upon it by a centrally located bureau thousands of miles away, the wonder is, not that such an educational system produces standardized citizens, but that it could possibly, even by exception, produce anything else.

Before the war a great many educators honestly be-

lieved the Prussian system of education ideal. This belief persists in certain circles. It finds its latest expression in such proposals as that for a Federal Department of Education and in the Spaulding plan. But it may well be doubted whether federalized education will assist us to any great extent in solving the problems which our American democracy imposes upon the nation. No system of educational practice which emphasizes uniformity to the detriment of liberty and a sane individualism can be successful in the United States. Democracy is a "leavening," but it is not a "leveling." With all its blunderings and mistakes, educational liberty is to be preferred either to the rule of an autocracy, no matter how benign, or of a bureaucracy, no matter how efficient.

The broad principles underlying all the efforts of the nationalist school may be summed up in the thesis that the authority of the State over the child is superior to that of the parent. In this conception the State is viewed as possessing rights which no individual may question, and to the pursuit of which every individual right must be subordinated. Politically, such a philosophy, when carried to the logical extreme, spells autocracy pure and unalloyed. In the realm of education it means the national school, a nationalized curriculum, and nationalized teachers. The parent's rights are no longer regarded as sacred, since, in the supposed interests of this higher person, the State, every father is called upon to waive his rights to direct the training of his own child. The nationalized school thus connotes the nationalized child; the individual's good is swallowed up in the supposed good of the State, to the attainment of which the State must bend every energy, social, economic, educational and religious. The theory of the State as an organism is Hegel's. Bismarck made it a concrete political reality. How any American statesman, much less an educator, with the history of two

centuries of educational freedom constantly before his eyes, can behold national security and well-being in such an autocratic ideal may well be an easy problem for the psychologist to solve. For the ordinary man in the street, imbued as he is with the principles of democracy and of personal freedom, the advocacy of Prussianism in education can only be regarded as a strange aberration of the educator's mind, or as deliberate treason to our national ideals.

PROPOSED DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION¹⁵

So far as I see the bill, with its implications, it can be considered as an isolated bill without attributing to the proponents of the bill any further motives, any ulterior motives; or it can be considered from the point of view of being a wedge which will be inserted for the purpose of securing later large Government appropriations, with all that those appropriations imply as we have usually met them.

From the first point of view, I can see no reason for the provision of a secretary of education. The bill purports for all practical purposes to give to the secretary of education the powers which at present are possessed by the Commissioner of Education. The only change in the conditions which now exist in the Government that would be produced by this bill would be the transfer to the secretary of education of the powers now possessed by the Board for Vocational Education, and also the control which is now exercised in other departments of the Government over Howard University.

I do not suppose that any one would object to such a consolidation of the educational functions of the Gov-

¹⁵ From statement of Dr. Frank J. Goodnow, president, Johns Hopkins University. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. p. 109-113. 69th Congress, 1st Session. February 24-26, 1926.

ernment in one officer; but my objection is directed to placing at the head of this new department of education an officer to be known as the secretary of education.

Why is it that one should object to the transfer of the duties of the present Commissioner of Education, with such additional duties as may be provided, upon a secretary of education?

As I see it, the main objection is that such a reorganization of the department of education will inevitably bring the whole field of education more or less into the field of active politics, and I say that without meaning to deprecate the existence in a democratic Government such as ours, of politics. You have got to have it; but there are certain fields of governmental activity in which it is extremely desirable to have as little active practical politics as possible, and it seems to me that one of those activities is education.

All of you who have been interested in the field of education in the States and the cities of this country know how difficult it is to keep out politics from the State and city schools. I have been for a number of years a member of the school board of the city of Baltimore; and if there is one thing which the board has attempted to do during the period that I have been connected with it, it has been to keep the ordinary considerations of practical politics out of the administration of the schools, and to endeavor to treat that administration and all the questions that come up in connection with it as a field in which politics should not intrude; and I can not see how there is going to be any advantage derived from transferring from an officer who has been, the history of the office will show, a reasonably permanent officer, to an officer who in the nature of things must be a political officer—the functions connected with education.

The argument is often advanced—you see it coming

out from the bureaus in Washington—that the Federal Government is spending only 3 or 4 per cent of its entire revenue upon education, and circles are drawn in which segments are cut to show more graphically the small amount of money which is spent by the Federal Government on education; and then the reproach is made that we are a partially uncivilized Government. We are compared with other governments to show the amount of money that they spend.

That argument to my mind is not a fair one at all, because under our system of government education is not a function, by the Constitution of the United States, of the Federal Government. It is one of those functions which have been reserved to the States; and anyone who will draw a circle in which the State expenditures on education are concerned will find that the segment comes up very much greater, and becomes a matter of which the American people may be proud.

Again, it is said that education is such an important function of government that it does not occupy a sufficiently dignified position unless it is recognized through the existence of an officer who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet. We are told to look at agriculture; the head of that department is a member of the Cabinet. We are told to look at labor; the head of that department is a member of the Cabinet. We are told to look at commerce; the head of that department is a member of the Cabinet. Therefore it is urged that education should be represented on the Cabinet of the President, because of the fact that it ought to occupy a position as dignified as that of labor, commerce, or agriculture.

Agriculture, labor, and commerce represent very distinct economic interests in the country which need and should have representation, as they do have, in the Government of the United States. That can not be said of education. The only way in which you may say that we who are interested in education represent an eco-

conomic class in the community is the fact that we get salaries—that is all—and the tendency is going to be, of course, with the vast number of instructors and teachers throughout the country, for the development of a lobby simply to raise salaries, not with the idea of representing what is a vital economic interest in the community.

Why is it that the Federal Government should not enter into this field of education? I have been connected with education for close on to 50 years, and I have never known a time when you might say that any serious question in education could be regarded as settled. I think it is Herbert Spencer who says that the history of education is the history of the adaptation of knowledge to need; and as your needs change with economic and social changes in your civilization your system of education will be obliged to change. So that there is nothing permanent, there is nothing settled at the present time, in the field of education.

What is going to be the effect upon this chaos or confusion, if a secretary of education—an officer necessarily political in character—is to exercise over the schools of the States the same sort of control that is exercised in other branches of Government where the Federal Government at the present time exercises control?

The tendency will be stagnation, standardization, the termination of this process of experimentation as it is going on at the present time, because then everything will be uniform. Now, one State has one idea with regard to education; other States have other ideas; and we will find out, through a process of experimentation with these various ideas, whether or not we can make advances. But what I fear will come from what, as I see it, will be the result of the passage of this bill is a standardization, stagnation, which is going to be extremely bad for our educational system.

I consider this bill a dangerous bill. It is not as dangerous as the bill that was up before Congress a year ago, because there the control that was to be exercised over the schools of the States was undisguised.

For these reasons I am afraid that this bill, apparently harmless on its face, though with this inherent defect of throwing education into politics, is going to be followed, and I imagine we all know or believe that it will be followed by Federal appropriations, with the resulting control of the States.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION¹⁶

The aspects of the subject which I have considered may be briefly summarized as follows:

Under the Constitution of the United States, no power has been delegated to Congress to regulate or control education in the several states. That subject was left within the exclusive domain and governmental duty and responsibility of the several states, and Congress cannot constitutionally seek directly or indirectly to regulate or control education in the states without violating the reserved rights of the states and the fundamental principle of local self-government.

The policy of so-called federalization of education once established would lead to an agitation and demand for a constitutional amendment in order to vest in Congress adequate and effective power of centralized supervision and control.

Any such increase of federal power and diminution of state authority, responsibility and duty would be prejudicial to the best interests of the nation and states.

The creation of a new executive department to be known as the Department of Education, with a Secretary of Education at the head thereof and as such a member

¹⁶ From article by William D. Guthrie, of the New York bar. *Constitutional Review*. 5: 94-101. April, 1921.

of the President's cabinet, would bring the subject of education into politics, with the danger of constantly varying educational policies and constantly pursued efforts to control the patronage of the department in the interest of the political party then in power.

The tendency of federal interference and direct or indirect control would be towards the centralization and standardization of education, and such centralization and standardization would in all probability prove to be prejudicial, not only to the public school system, but to the independent and satisfactory operation of existing private schools, including those maintained by various religious denominations for the purpose especially of securing to the younger children of the country the benefit of adequate religious training as well as secular education.

Interference by Congress in the matter of education would, as it seems to me, gravely imperil the future integrity, independence, and autonomy of the states. Nothing is more essential to the perpetuity of our present system of government than the federal principle of Nation and State, each supreme and independent within its allotted sphere, and the preservation to the states of their right to local self-government and the actual practice of that right. Our federal Constitution contemplates and assumes the continuance of the states as autonomous, independent, self-governing communities, and this is an inseparable incident to the republican form of dual government intended to be established by the founders of the Republic. Such a vital principle ought not to be in any way sacrificed by the states because of a temporary crisis, or because of a desire for subsidies of federal funds to meet the increased cost of education. The states should be jealous of their right to control a matter affecting them so vitally, and should not experiment with federal control, which under federalization would be centered in Washington and might readily develop into the tyranny and irresponsibility of bureaucratic government.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION ¹⁷

Education, as a rule, means most in the life of a community when it is the natural outgrowth of the ideals and hopes of that community. To develop the sense of local responsibility for education is the chief problem of educational statesmanship, and any measure which would weaken or undermine the sense of community responsibility for education would be unfortunate and in the long run perilous to the proper development of the American people.

A Federal department of education would eventually lead to Federal control of education. It would undermine State responsibility and community responsibility, strengthening the present dangerous tendency to rely upon Federal aid for all desired ends. I think that wise statesmanship will limit Federal activity in the State affairs to a minimum. The expansion of the Federal powers threatens the stability of our constitutional Government.

It would be much more economical to increase the appropriation for the present Bureau of Education than to establish a department of education with an officer in the President's Cabinet. The latter proposal involves the setting up of a new department, with a great increase of expenditure and a probable commensurate increase in Federal effort in the field of education. The expense is unnecessary and unjustifiable. It would increase the number of office holders in Washington, the amount of overhead expense for Federal supervision, and would prove a heavy and unwarranted burden upon the taxpayers. Only necessary expenditures for governmental

¹⁷ From letter by Stephen B. L. Penrose, president, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. p. 370-1. February 24-26, 1926.

functions are warranted under our system of government. I think that a department of education would be an expensive luxury.

I do not believe in Federal grants to States or institutions for educational purposes, and I believe that it would be inevitable if a department of education should be established that the movement in favor of Federal aid for education among the several States would be greatly strengthened. I think that this is a dangerous tendency. The several States, aided by private benevolence, had much better develop their own educational systems in their own ways than to receive appropriations from the Federal Treasury and be brought into uniform methods of educational procedure because of Federal control.

The independence of the States and their sense of moral responsibility for the solution of their own problems will be seriously endangered if the proposed bill goes through.

A Federal department of education can not be given up when once it has been adopted. It will involve an ever-increasing number of appointees, and an ever-increasing extension of its functions. Such things must be studied with reference to their future, and it is because I fear the future that I am opposed to the bill to establish a Federal department of education.

The tests of sound legislation are that it should be necessary, economical, and efficient. No one can say that the proposed department of education is necessary, however desirable it may seem to its advocates. Neither can they claim that it would be economical; the history of government proves the contrary. If such a department should prove efficient it would all the more be dangerous to the principle of local self government, and if it should be inefficient, it would be only a step further in political corruption.

STANDARDIZATION OF EDUCATION¹⁸

The purpose of the bill is made explicit in the revised form of it which has been offered by Senator Means, in which it is expressly said that the department of public education, with the assistance of the advisory board to be created, shall attempt to develop a more uniform and efficient system of public common school education. The department of education, according to that bill, is to promote uniformity in education. That uniformity in education under central control it seems to me is the worst fate into which any country can fall.

The principle of this bill is that standardization in education is a good thing. I do not think a person can read the literature of advocates of measures of this sort without seeing that that is taken almost without argument as a matter of course, that standardization in education is a good thing. I am perfectly ready to admit that standardization in some spheres is a good thing. It is a good thing in the making of Ford cars; but just because it is a good thing in the making of Ford cars it is a bad thing in the making of human beings, for the reason that a Ford car is a machine and a human being is a person. But a great many educators today deny the distinction between the two, and that is the gist of the whole matter. The persons to whom I refer are those who hold the theory that the human race has now got behind the scenes, that it has got at the secrets of human behavior, that it has pulled off the trappings with which human actors formerly moved upon the scene of life, and has discovered that art and poetry and beauty and morality are delusions, and that mechanism really rules all.

¹⁸ From statement of Dr. J. Gresham Machen, Princeton Theological Seminary. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. p. 95-106. 69th Congress, 1st Session. December 24-26, 1926.

I do not believe that we ought to adopt this principle of standardization in education, which is writ so large in this bill; because standardization, it seems to me, destroys the personal character of human life. I do not believe that the personal, free, individual character of education can be preserved when you have a Federal department laying down standards of education which become more or less mandatory to the whole country.

I think it is perfectly plain that we are embarking on a policy here which can not be reversed when it is once embarked upon. It is very much easier to prevent the formation of some agency that may be thought to be unfortunate than it is to destroy it after it is once formed. Now, I think, is the decisive time to settle this question whether we want the principle for which this department will stand.

But it will be said: "Why, do you actually mean that we should have these 48 States, each with its own separate system of education, and a lot of crazy private and church schools?" Why, people tell us we shall make a perfect mess of it if we have any such education as that. Well, I say, with respect to that, that I hope with all my might that we may go on making a mess of it. I had a great deal rather have confusion in the sphere of education than intellectual and spiritual death; and out of that "mess," as they call it—we call it liberty—there has come every fine thing that we have in our race today.

But then people say: "What is going to become of the matter of equal opportunity? Here you have some States providing inferior opportunities to others, and the principle of equal opportunity demands Federal aid." I may say with regard to this matter of equal opportunity, that I am dead opposed to it—dead opposed to the principle of equal opportunity. What shall be done with a State that provides opportunity for its children inferior to that provided by other States? Should the people of that State be told that it makes absolutely no difference,

that Washington will do it if the State does not do it? I think not. I think we are encouraging an entirely false attitude of mind on the part of individual parents and on the part of individual States if we say that it makes no difference how responsibilities are met.

I believe that in the sphere of the mind we should have absolutely unlimited competition. There are certain spheres where competition may have to be checked, but not when it comes to the sphere of the mind; and it seems to me that we ought to have this state of affairs: That every State should be faced by the unlimited competition in this sphere of other States; that each one should try to provide the best for its children that it possibly can; and, above all, that all public education should be kept healthy at every moment by the absolutely free competition of private schools and church schools.

But then people say: "You know that this Federal department of education is in the interest of efficiency." They are always flinging that word "efficiency" at us as though when that word is spoken all argument at once is checked. Well, of course, "efficiency" just means doing things, and I think the important thing to know is whether the things that are being done are good or bad. If the things that are being done by any agency are good, I am in favor of efficiency; but if the things that are being done by the agency are bad, the less efficiency it has the better it suits me. I am unable to admire efficiency when it is directed to an end which works harm to me; and the end of the efficiency of a Federal department of education would be the worst kind of slavery that could possibly be devised—a slavery in the sphere of the mind.

A great many educators, I think, have this notion that it is important to be doing something, to be going somewhere. They are interested in progress, and they do not seem to care very much in what direction the progress is being made. I find in this bill a decisive step in a direction where the progress, if persisted in, will lead to dis-

aster; and what I am hoping for is not merely that this bill may be defeated, but that this whole tendency, gentlemen, may be checked.

I am opposed to the activities of the Federal bureau where they involve the laying down of standards of education—of certain standards for colleges, for example. I think that is an unfortunate thing. I think it is very much better to have men who are engaged in education examine methods of education, examine standards, rather than to have such agencies of research come before the people with the authority of the Federal Government, with the fear at all times that we shall have an agitation to compel schools to maintain those standards. We have very frequently the principle that the States are to be allowed to do this and that; but if they do not maintain certain standards which have been laid down by Federal agencies of research, they should then be compelled to do it by some sort of an amendment to the Constitution or the like.

INFLUENCE OF DEPARTMENT¹⁹

The first thing that struck me on reading this bill was the apparent futility of it. You are creating, at considerable expense, a department of the Federal Government, headed by a member of the Cabinet, and giving it absolutely no power whatever.

The explanation why you give it no power is very obvious. You can give it no power. The Constitution of the United States forbids you to do so. You attempt, therefore, to give it influence—to give the Federal Government an influence over public education that the framers of the Constitution expressly never intended it to exercise or to have. You propose to give it an in-

¹⁹ From statement of Thomas F. Cadwalader, representing the American Constitutional League and the Sentinals of the Republic. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. p. 263-5. 69th Congress, 1st Session. February 24-26, 1926.

fluence by creating a political department which shall be charged entirely with scientific duties. If you grant that scientific opinion is the chief need of education, why do you undertake to fulfill that need by putting it into politics? What has science to do with politics; how has science been benefited in the history of the country or of any other country by being tied up with politics?

You have a Commissioner of Education and a Bureau of Education. The proponents of this bill say it is buried in the Department of the Interior. It has not the prestige and it has not the power of a Federal department. That is what they want to give it.

The arguments in favor of changing this bureau into a department all boil down to these two things: One is that a department is more likely to get money from Congress; and the other is, it is likely to have a greater power in influence—not legal power, but influence. In other words, you want to spend a lot of money gathering facts, and you are going out into the public schools of the whole country to get those facts and you are going to send out a horde of Federal inspectors to go into those schools and camp on the heels of the teachers and children and to say that they come directly from the Secretary of Education in the city of Washington with their credentials to investigate how the school affairs are being carried on, so that they may bring back that information to Washington where it will be duly tabulated. Do you think that that will not have any influence, any effect on the conduct of the schools? Do you think that that will not give the Federal Government control over education, to a great extent? Do you think that the recommendations of the department of education, or the findings of fact that it may make with regard to schools and the school system of any State, will not be such that it will give a very strong measure of coercion to the Federal Department of Education in the conduct of those schools?

There are two things to be said about the influence that may be exerted by this department of education. It will either be by virtue of the pure scientific value of the research conducted by the department, in which case there is no reason that I can see that any witness has brought out why that purely scientific research can not be developed as well by the Bureau of Education, provided you give it sufficient funds and facilities, as by any political department.

If what you want is something more than an influence based on the scientific value of the studies of the department, then you are all right to go ahead and change your Commissioner of Education to a secretary of education, provided that you are in a position to give that secretary of education power; but if you are going to give him influence and a name and a high-sounding title and are not in a position to give him responsible authority, then you are giving that influence to a purely bureaucratic officer.

The people will not be called upon to determine educational policies if the secretary of education has no legal powers to enforce them. Educational policies will not be an issue in any of your elections, but they will be determined by the official himself. Now, that is the worst, the most utter opposite of democratic government that you can imagine.

REASONS AGAINST LEGISLATION²⁰

Catholic citizens do not oppose Federal research in the field of education and Federal supervision of education by the United States Bureau of Education. The present Federal Bureau of Education has rendered valuable service to education in this country and has oper-

²⁰ From statement of Charles F. Dolle, executive secretary of the National Council of Catholic Men, United States Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000, p. 277-8. 69th Congress, 1st Session, February 24-26, 1926.

ated with conspicuous success. If it requires additional powers and appropriations, these should be granted to it.

There has been no failure of public education in this country. On the contrary, there has been a remarkable advance in the progress of public education in the United States. The staunchest supporters of the Curtis-Reed bill can make no claim for the need for this legislation on the ground of failure, stagnation, or decline of public education under State control, aided by the present Federal agencies.

Our objections to this kind of legislation have been stated on other occasions before the committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and are matter of record in the report of the public hearings held upon the predecessors of the Curtis-Reed bill.

First, there is no public demand for this legislation and no reasonable need for it. The Bureau of Education could perform all the functions of the proposed department. Sentiment favorable to this bill is due almost entirely to propaganda carried on for the past six years by one great educational organization.

Nothing has been shown to indicate that the efficiency of the work now conducted by the Bureau of Education will be increased by this legislation or that the new department will be able to do more or better work than the bureau now does or can do if its scope is enlarged. And it has not been shown that vocational and other special education would be benefited by abolishing the Federal Board for Vocational Education and other educational boards and transferring their duties to the new department.

Second, it would throw education into politics with all the attendant evils. The supporters of the bill say that education would be "dignified" by the establishment of a department of education. It is more likely that the effect of the creation of this new department and the new place in the Cabinet of the President would

expose education to the dangers of political interference of an army of inspectors and research workers seeking and holding office in the department as political favor. This would mean a tendency to detract from the efficiency of the department and would lead to a waste of public money. Politics, we think, would necessarily influence the choice of the secretary of education and would also influence the appointment of his subordinates.

Third, the bill, if enacted, would tend to standardize education and would destroy local initiative and support of education.

The new department of education is authorized by the bill to conduct research and determine standards of organization, administration and financing of education, methods of teaching, and providing more adequate curricula. The results of its researches are to be made "available" to educational officers of the several States. The manner in which they are to be made available is not determined and probably can not be, but indications have been given that the advocates of this bill will seek later to put into effect the recommendations of the department through the extension of Federal aid to the States as they have always heretofore advocated.

The department would thus tend to standardize education. But this is impractical. Education does not present a field for standardization of product as a factory does. Education is a matter of experimentation. Local school boards and local teachers know local needs. Conditions and life differ in the several States. An educational bureaucracy at Washington can not be expected to understand what each community needs or wants. Its influence would be discouraging to local initiative and deter local educators from doing what they believe should be done to meet the local needs.

Fourth, this bill, if it does not expressly provide for Federal standardization of education in section 8, at least leads that way by indirection. The groundwork

has been laid for it. It remains only to offer inducement to the States to accept the curricula and standards presented by the new department.

The section referred to provides that the department shall aid the people "in improving methods of teaching and in developing more adequate curricula and courses of study."

We also think that this provision in the bill indicates that the intention of the advocates of this legislation to provide Federal aid to States that would adopt the standards of curricula and methods of teaching which Federal experts would prescribe has only been deferred, not abandoned.

FEDERAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION²¹

We feel, first, that a Federal conference on education provided by legislation is unnecessary, because it can be called by Executive order; that is, if there is any occasion. We think if there is great occasion for having a clearing house on educational matters, then that conference should be called together by Executive order; as, for example, the conference on citizenship, which is at present functioning, has been called. That is, it is not necessary to have it a matter of legislation.

A reason for opposing it as a matter of legislation is that its findings would thereby be crystallized; that undue prestige would be given to what really would not necessarily be based upon research. The department's work is research. The findings of the constituent members would be very apt to be the opinion of some one department. And let us be specific; let us say that representatives of the War Department, who of course would be on the committee, would have a program for

²¹ From statement of Miss Selma Borchardt, legislative secretary of the American Federation of Teachers. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. p. 43-4. 69th Congress, 1st Session. February 24-26, 1926.

compulsory military training in the schools, a program in which many people believe and in which many people do not believe. The representatives of the War Department would be in a position to point out very decidedly the value of this. The findings of that conference, including at length the report of the War Department representatives, would be sent broadcast as the findings of the conference, and have prestige given to them thereby. Of course those who oppose us on this will say that on the other hand there would be members who would oppose it, and their findings would go out; but this gives to people who are not strictly educators a definite place from which to put forth what some people term propaganda.

Then again, too, a Federal conference on education has a word in it which to some people may appear dangerous. May I say that I recognize throughout the whole thing that the findings and action of this conference are in no sense mandatory; that they are simply advisory; that the conference has no power to put over its findings? However, we know that any informal conference which puts out any statement, has prestige given to its findings, even though the findings are not mandatory; but the prestige is given to them. Therefore, we say that if there were a Federal conference with its findings, there would be the only danger that we, after a very careful consideration, have found in a Federal department. We say that if you create a Federal conference, while this State or that State may not agree on anything and they would not be forced to do so, yet from the very fact that it has the style of Federal conference, there would be those who would stand out against it, there would be always opposition and therefore, we feel, as I say, first because it is unnecessary, second because it would be an opening for propaganda and third, because it may possibly afford an obstacle to a thing which seems decidedly valuable.

OBJECTIONS TO BILL ²²

The Margaret Brett Civic Guild of Massachusetts wishes to be recorded in opposition to a Federal department of education in the President's Cabinet; and they give the following reasons why this bill should not be enacted into law:

The bill is unwise. Many sincere students of our Government think that we have too many Federal bureaus already; and a new and uncalled-for and unnecessary department is unwise. The Federal Government should confine itself strictly to its constitutional functions.

The bill is unnecessary. The present Bureau of Education, enlarged in scope and object, is ample for every provision in the Curtis-Reed bill. The power which this bill enunciates could be exercised equally well by the existing commissioner of education.

The bill is undesirable. We have 48 ministers of education in the United States—one in every State in the Union. We have also a Bureau of Education at Washington; and in addition to that we have thousands of school boards, committees, county superintendents, and their associates. If the combined wisdom of all these officials is unable to devise a workable school system, then there is no miracle man, or superman, that might be found for the department head that could accomplish it.

The bill is inefficient. The alleged reasons for the bill rest on the theory that Congress is better fitted to meet the needs of the local schools than the people of the communities in which the schools are located; or that a department at Washington has some magic form-

²² From statement of Mrs. Rufus W. Knight, representing the Margaret Brett Civil Guild. United States. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor. Joint hearings on S. 291 and H.R. 5000. 69th Congress, 1st Session. February 24-26, 1926.

ula unknown to educators at large which will forthwith bring the schools to perfection. Each of these theories is a pure assumption. The bungling inefficiency and waste of Federal bureaus should be sufficient warning against setting up another, especially in education.

The bill is too costly. The new bill eliminates Federal appropriation on its face, but this bill is supported by men and women who for years have said that the very heart of the plan was Federal aid, it is fair to conclude they are only waiting for the opportunity, once the department is established, to amend the bill to include a Federal salary fund.

At a time when national economy is the Nation's greatest need, it is too costly a folly to erect a new department of education, whose expenses in a few years will vie with those of the Army and Navy.

Finally, the creation of a department of education must be wholly unacceptable to all Americans interested in the greatly growing trend toward Federal bureaucracy.

Under the Constitution, the administration as well as the control of the schools, is vested in the States and forbidden to Congress. The States can care for their educational problems; they have done so for generations.

EDUCATIONAL SUPERVISION ²⁸

The concentration of educational supervision in a national capital has always worked badly, and there is no reason to suppose that the United States would prove an exception to this general rule. French education when controlled from Paris has tended to ossify, and only as they have given independence to different districts and different parts of the system has there been

²⁸ From letter by Arthur T. Hadley, president, Yale University. *Educational Record*. 1: 105-6. July, 1920.

any progress made. All the great pieces of progress of the last century were done in opposition to the national incubus of a centralized bureau. In Germany the case was worse. When I was in Berlin during the winter of 1907-08 I saw a good deal of the inside working; and the degradation of German thought was largely due to the fact that through the establishment, first of Berlin University and second of other centralized Prussian authorities, the politicians had become able to throttle free thought. I regard the Smith-Towner bill as a long step in the Prussianizing of American education.

I regard the introduction of another cabinet minister as calculated to weaken rather than strengthen the influence of the Cabinet. In the old days, when our Cabinet consisted of heads of government departments of the first rank, cabinet councils meant a great deal, because the Cabinet consisted of men who knew how to govern. The introduction of departments of Agriculture and of Labor, however good in themselves, weakened the force of the cabinet council, because men were appointed for other reasons than their training in the science of government. If we compare the cabinets of the day with those of twenty or of fifty years ago, I think we all will see the difference in this respect; and I think that most people will regard the change as a change for the worse.

Finally, I regard the present as a singularly inopportune time for anything that involves increased national expense at Washington, because everything of this sort tends to increase the high cost of living.

BRIEF EXCERPTS

If the day should ever arrive (which God forbid) when the people of the different parts of our country should allow their local affairs to be administered from

Washington, on that day the progressive political career of the American people will have come to an end, and the hopes that have been built upon it for the future happiness and prosperity of mankind will be wrecked forever.—*John Fishe. Constitutional Review. 7:109. April, 1923.*

If the office of the national government in this matter is to be only advisory, where is the necessity for the exalted rank of a Secretary of Education and the elaborate and costly machinery of a federal Department? Second, if federal interference with the educational systems of the states begins with a gentle and harmless provision for advice and suggestion, is it likely to stop there? What may be expected in the way of amendments and extensions of the act? What is the answer of experience?—*Constitutional Review. 7:110. April, 1923.*

Government is politics and politics is government, and I have yet to see a federal function performed at Washington without the injection of politics; and when politics is centralized and when power is centralized at a point which is not readily visible to the average man and woman, and is exercised indirectly, but not the less effectively over the schools of this country, the party or group in control of the federal government can spread its own propaganda and poison the well-springs of public sentiment.—*Senator Wadsworth. Constitutional Review. 7:114. April, 1923.*

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

RECENT FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON EDUCATION¹

The history of the Federal Government's participation in the educational affairs of the country may be divided into two periods. The first was one hundred and twenty-six years long, the second has been something less than eight. From the time of the adoption of the Constitution down to 1914 the policy of the Federal Government with respect to education was perfectly consistent. Education was regarded as a function of the states, not in any sense a function of the National Government. Occasionally the Government made grants to the states for the promotion of education. During the first hundred years of the nation's life all of these grants were land grants, culminating in those famous grants which established the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. Thereafter from time to time the Federal Government made continuing appropriations for the maintenance of the colleges so established. These now amount to a respectable annual income for each of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. But Federal supervision of activities carried on by funds derived from grants of land or from annual appropriations made prior to 1914 was not provided for. In other words it was the policy of the Federal Government to stimulate desirable educational activities within the states, but never to direct them or even negatively to exercise control over them.

¹ Address by Samuel P. Capen delivered at the University of Illinois, December 1, 1921. *Educational Record*. 3: 18-26. January, 1922.

This policy was reinforced by the character of the agencies which the Government set up to deal with its concerns in the educational field. The Bureau of Education, the Government's principal education office, was charged with the collection and dissemination of information. It had no administrative powers. Other offices subsequently created to look after the educational interests of special departments of the Government were of a similar character. The powers granted to them were not such as to violate the Government's traditional policy of non-interference.

The passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, providing for cooperative agricultural extension, marked the beginning of a departure from this policy. The beginning was small and inconspicuous. Because the Smith-Lever Act did not affect the regularly organized work of educational institutions it was not at first generally identified as an important educational measure. The Smith-Lever Act makes large continuing appropriations to the states for agricultural extension to be carried on cooperatively by the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts and the United States Department of Agriculture. In order to secure its allotment of government money each state must match the Federal appropriation by an equal sum raised from local resources. By implication the act also places in the hands of the Federal Government determinative power with respect to the way in which the joint appropriations are to be spent. It states: "that the work shall be carried on in such manner as may be mutually agreed upon by the Secretary of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College" and provides further that "before the funds . . . appropriated shall become available to any college for any fiscal year plans for the work to be carried on . . . shall be submitted by the proper officials of each college and approved by the Secretary of Agriculture." Almost immediately the Department of Agriculture developed a

large administrative bureau and a supervisory field force to enable it to comply with these provisions.

The Smith-Lever Act was one of the most portentous acts ever passed by Congress. It not only inaugurated a new kind of government procedure in the field of education. It embodied, unless I am mistaken, the first provision for financial cooperation between the Federal Government and the states on the dollar for dollar basis. This fiscal device fell upon sore-beset legislators as manna from heaven. Almost over night it rose to the dignity of a principle. As a political measure the device was a stroke of genius. It had the double advantage of taking the curse off large Federal appropriations and of making the home districts believe they were receiving presents from the Government. Of equally magical quality was the euphemistic phrase "cooperation with the states." It has become an irresistible slogan. A legislative proposal designed to remedy any social defect by the expenditure of Federal money needs only to carry the potent clause, "for cooperation with the states," to secure the enthusiastic indorsement of almost any organized body of citizens.

But the principle of so-called cooperative appropriations wholly or partly under Federal control has never been subjected to critical scrutiny. Has the country had sufficient experience with such measures to warrant a judgment concerning the wisdom of the policy which they embody? Let us examine those that deal with education.

It is, of course, well known that great benefits have come through the promotion of agricultural education under the Smith-Lever Act. The act has been on the whole sympathetically and tactfully administered and there has been no marked discontent at Federal interference among those that the law affects. Evidences of friction, however, have not been altogether wanting. But if the act had stood alone the desirability of this

method of fostering an educational movement might never have been questioned.

But within three years the Smith-Lever Act was followed by the Smith-Hughes Act for Vocational Education. This measure provided for the annual appropriation of still larger sums of Federal money to be matched by state or local levies, the combined appropriations to be used for vocational training in public secondary schools and for the training of vocational teachers. It also created an independent Federal Board to administer the appropriations. The Act imposed specific and exacting conditions upon the states in the use of Federal funds. Moreover all state programs of training, including proposed courses of study and methods of instruction, must be submitted to the Federal Board for Vocational Education for approval. The government agency was thus clothed with comprehensive powers. The history of the relations of the Government with local educational authorities in the administration of the Vocational Act is familiar to every student of education. Difficulties and dissensions have been common. Again it is only fair to say that these may not have offset the benefits derived from the act but they furnish an unhappy contrast to the harmonious development of the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts under a different Federal dispensation.

It is also worth while to note in passing that the Vocational Education Act contributed still further to the disorganization of the Government's own educational activities. By it vocational education was recognized as a thing apart and a separate government office was established to care for it. Whether one approves of fifty-fifty appropriations, or of intimate government supervision of local educational undertakings or not, I think it will be generally admitted that the organic separation of the machinery for vocational education from the rest of the Government's educational effort was peculiarly unfortunate.

Twice again within the last year and a half Congress has entered the fringe of the educational field with measures precisely similar in fundamental policy to the Smith-Hughes Act. The Act for Industrial Rehabilitation passed in 1920 appropriates money to the states for the vocational rehabilitation through training of persons injured in industry. The appropriations are made on almost identical terms with the appropriations for vocational education and they are administered by the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

Finally in the closing days of the session which has just adjourned the Maternity Bill became a law. The educational implications of this measure are less direct, but the now familiar principle once more appears in its full integrity. There are dollar for dollar appropriations and government approval of state projects. The bill also brings into being a new board and confers upon still another bureau—this time the Children's Bureau—authority over local educational efforts.

Let us now see where we are. It is apparent that extraordinarily rapid progress has been made in the development of this new cooperative policy in the short space of seven years. Four important educational measures have been passed, three of which open up new fields of educational activity to joint government and state exploitation. The Federal appropriations made under these acts increase annually for a period of years. When the maximum is reached the Federal Government will be spending a little over fifteen million dollars a year on the enterprises in question. It is interesting to compare these expenditures with the Federal expenditures for the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. After fifty years the Federal Government spends on the sixty-eight land-grant colleges for instruction and experimentation approximately three and a half million dollars annually. It would be superfluous to comment on the far-reaching influence over all higher and second-

ary education that has emanated from the colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts. No serious disagreements have marred the relations of these land-grant colleges with the Government except such as have arisen over the conduct of extension work since 1914. Constant and increasing friction, on the other hand, has attended the Government's efforts in those other fields that we have been discussing. The work of the individual institutions has been warped and distorted. Local and state officers have been subjected to continual irritation.

Nevertheless, Congress and what might be called the uplift lobby are undaunted. The principle of fifty-fifty cooperative appropriations so far from being seriously questioned is now the accepted formula for all important measures designed to affect education. My subject does not include pending legislation but I may perhaps be pardoned if I allude briefly to certain of the important bills now before Congress.

There is first of all the Towner-Sterling Bill which provides for the creation of a Department of Education and authorizes the appropriation of one hundred million dollars a year to cooperate with the states in curing the most patent defects in our educational system. The framers of this measure have indeed been warned by the unhappy episodes that have marked the execution of the Smith-Hughes Act. In the hope of preventing the possibility of offensive Federal dictation the bill specifically reserves to the local authorities complete supervision and control of educational activities carried on under the joint appropriations. Most students of government, however, and especially those who have studied the development of centralizing tendencies in the Government of the United States, believe that, in spite of reservations to the contrary, a large measure of Federal control will inevitably follow the distribution of such considerable government subsidies. But whether the optimists or the alarmists are right is for the moment

beside the point. The Towner-Sterling Bill provides for cooperative national and state appropriations totaling two hundred million dollars.

The Fess-Capper Bill for Physical Education is in one sense a fractional part of the Towner-Sterling Bill. It is designed to establish a national system of physical education by cooperative appropriations under Federal direction. Ten million dollars annually of Federal money is provided to be matched by state funds. Control of the same drastic character authorized by the Smith-Hughes Act is vested in the Commissioner of Education.

And within the last two years a number of other bills of similar or identical construction intended to benefit public health or the work of Americanization, or tending to promote some unorthodox educational activity, have been introduced in Congress. These have been paralleled by measures affecting other activities and embodying the same principles. In this connection it should not be forgotten that the most expensive cooperative measures of all, the Good Roads Act, is built on precisely the same principle.

Certain conclusions can now easily be drawn from the experience of the last seven years with Federal legislation bearing on education. In the first place it is obvious that the new type of Federal law produces action without delay. It buys action. No such country-wide development of agricultural extension or vocational education could possibly have been induced in this brief period without the combined pressure of Federal subsidies and Federal authority. The proponents of the measures already passed and of those still pending emphasize the fact—and properly. But, as has been said, action is attended by antagonism and resentment toward the Government on the part of those who are by this means induced to act. This is an equally important fact and must be faced.

In the second place, the measures that have been dis-

cussed have already radically altered the long accepted relationship between the Federal Government and the states. The Federal Government previously entered the states only in the interests of national defense and for the protection of life and property. Through these recent acts it now exercises control of other fields. To that extent the autonomy of the states has been curtailed. But the autonomy of the states is not curtailed merely by bureaucratic orders from Washington. There is still another more important influence. Already a very considerable portion of state revenues is claimed for purposes designated by the Federal Government. Let the principle which we have been discussing continue to dominate Federal legislation for a decade or two longer and the major part of all state tax levies will be mortgaged in advance for the support of undertakings determined at the seat of the Government. By a gradual and unsuspected process of transition the respective functions of the Federal and state governments will have changed. This is what fiscal cooperation with the states on the fifty-fifty basis—Smith-Lever, Smith-Hughes, Sterling-Towner cooperation—really means.

Do we want it? Perhaps we do. But whether we do or not let us recognize it. Let us examine every proposed piece of legislation embodying provisions for financial cooperation with full consciousness of what its passage implies.

But if some persons do wish to see the Government continue this method of participation in American education, I am frank to say that I do not. In closing I should like to define what I believe to be the Government's legitimate and fruitful function in the conduct of the nation's educational enterprise. This function is clearly indicated by the old and the new experiments in the promotion of the intellectual interests of the country.

The Government of the United States is engaged in two distinct kinds of national service. The first is defensive or conservative, the second is creative. Under the defensive service of the Government are properly grouped all those ancient activities relating to the raising of money, the administration of justice, provision for military defense, postal communication, and the adjustment of foreign relations. The agencies which the Government has devised to carry on these activities are agencies of self-preservation. Within the spheres in which they operate they must control absolutely the lives, the property, or the conduct of citizens, else the nation's safety is jeopardized. Back of them lies the full physical force of the Government.

The second kind of service, the creative service of the Government, is of quite a different character. In it are included those activities designed to foster industrial production, to encourage scientific inquiry, to promote social welfare, and to advance education. Very evidently the sanction behind the Government's promotion of these creative concerns of the nation is not force. It is not even the coercive power of subsidies. What is it? It is persuasion. This is proved by reviewing the history of any of the government establishments that deal with these creative interests.

How did the Department of Agriculture effect a revolution in the nation's basic industry in the short space of fifty years? Certainly not by fiat; not by the distribution of money. The result was achieved by knowledge, ideas, publicity. In other words, by persuasion. And the great subsidies and mandatory laws that the department has recently had to administer are a misfortune to it and interests that it serves, although the department may not be aware of the fact.

Why has the Bureau of Education with its insignificant appropriations and its shifting personnel had an influence on American education out of all proportion to

its size and resources? Because its task was to investigate and promote, and because it had no administrative powers. Commissioners of education have occasionally desired to change this situation, but it was fortunate for education and for the bureau that they were unable to do so.

What is the source of the prestige of the Children's Bureau? Not its powers for it has none, but rather the accuracy of its studies of sociological conditions and the validity of its conclusions. And now, at last, there has fallen to it the task of administering the subsidies carried by the Maternity Bill and so of exercising control in the field in which it has previously furnished inspiration alone. In spite of the fact that the Children's Bureau was eager to get these subsidies, the bureau is now really an object of commiseration.

The lesson of the Government's experience in dealing with the creative interests of the nation is plain. These interests flourish if furnished with ideas, intellectual guidance, leadership. They suffer if subjected to control. The ancient policy of non-interference—which probably was adopted and persevered in largely by accident and which was finally altered without full realization of what the alteration entailed—was the right policy.

By far the greatest and most important creative interest of the nation is education. What does education need from the Federal Government in the future? It needs three things: unification of the Government's own educational enterprises; studies on a large scale of the educational problems of the country; and leadership. To meet these needs there must be a consolidation of bureaus and offices at Washington and a larger, better supported, more influential establishment that can command the services of the best minds in the country. Whether this establishment should be an independent department, a commission, or a division of a department

is of secondary importance—although most of us have our preferences. It is of first importance that the establishment be charged with only those functions which experience has proved are helpful and vitalizing to American education everywhere.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS²

Our earliest form of national life encouraged education in the several colonial possessions.

A. The Land Act of 1785 set aside lot 16 in every township in the Northwest Territory for "maintenance of public schools in the said township."

B. The preamble to the Ordinance of 1787 contains substantially the following:

Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged.

C. Following the adoption of the Constitution in 1789, as states were added to the Union, Congress required each state to set aside sections of land for school purposes.

D. "Land Grant" colleges were established in 1862 by the Morrill Act. Permanent annual appropriations of \$50,000 to each state and territory were made in the second Morrill Act, in 1890 and in the Nelson Amendment thereto in 1907, for the maintenance of agricultural colleges and for colleges of mechanical arts.

E. In 1867 a Department of Education was established. Two years later, those who sought to destroy the department before its usefulness could be demonstrated put a bill through Congress abolishing it and transferring its functions to the existing Bureau under the Department of the Interior. The following is a tabulation of appropriations (1917 to 1926, inclusive) for the general use of the Bureau of Education, exclusive of the amount appropriated for the Alaska Division:

² From article by Elmer E. Rogers. *New Age*. 34: 403-6. July, 1926.

SELECTED ARTICLES

	Amount of estimates	Amount of appropriations
1917.....	\$217,530	\$135,500.00
1918.....	288,660	(b) 188,800.00
1919.....	286,370	(a) 394,445.86
1920.....	590,060	235,745.98
1921.....	669,940	181,174.01
1922.....	634,320	178,665.35
1923.....	161,960	179,513.96
1924.....	191,060	209,273.99
1925.....	218,440	224,240.00
1926.....	222,600	222,600.00
Total.....	\$3,480,940	\$2,149,959.15

(a) Includes \$225,000 allotment National Security Defense.

(b) Includes \$50,000 allotment National Security Defense.

It is noted that the total estimates exceed the total appropriations by \$1,330,980.85, and that \$275,000 of the amount appropriated went for purposes other than education.

F. In 1887 the Hatch Act and in 1906 the Adams Act appropriated each year, and to each state and territory, \$30,000. These appropriations were to aid in acquiring and diffusing useful and practical information on subjects connected with agriculture, and to promote scientific investigation.

G. In 1914 the Smith-Lever Act, appropriated \$4,580,000 annually.

to provide for cooperative agricultural extension work between the agricultural colleges in the several states established under the Morrill Acts, and disbursed under the Department of Agriculture.

H. In 1917 the Smith-Hughes Act created the Federal Board of Vocational Education. This act provides for cooperation with the states only (not the territories) and seeks to promote education in the trades, agriculture, industries and in home-making. It further provides for cooperation with the states in the preparation of teachers in vocational subjects. The 1926 appropriations under this act will amount to \$7,154,901.51

and thereafter a like amount annually. The allotments to the states are based upon their relative numerical populations. The smallest allotment to any state in 1923 was \$20,000; this will be increased to \$30,000 in 1926. Both the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes Acts made appropriations on a fifty-fifty basis; i.e., the state appropriated one-half and the Federal Government one-half.

I. Immense appropriations were made to rehabilitate soldiers of the Great War. The initial appropriations were carried in the appropriation for the Federal Board for Vocational Education from 1918 to 1921. The total amount appropriated to date is \$718,666,370, of which to date \$640,139,964 has been disbursed. Approximately \$5,000,000 will have been disbursed by June 30, 1926, at which time this educational work ceased.

Aside from existing educational activities described under "C," "D," "E," "F," "G," and "H," there are many other educational activities encouraged by the Federal Government, all of which are distributed throughout seven of the ten federal departments and the Federal Board of Vocational Education.

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES FOR EDUCATION *

During the last fifteen years Congress has worked out the details of a system of grants or subsidies from the Federal treasury of the states, which has enabled the Federal Government to exercise a considerable measure of supervision over matters not mentioned in the Constitution, and, therefore, presumably left in the hands of the states. Seven large grants and a number of smaller ones of this type are now made regularly from the Federal treasury to the state governments, with total congressional appropriations exceeding \$125,000,-

* By Austin F. Macdonald, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania. *Annals of the American Academy*. 129: 102-5. January, 1927.

000 annually. Four of these are for purposes which may be definitely labeled as educational. They are:

1. the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which provides for agricultural extension work;
2. the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, establishing what has become a nationwide system of vocational education;
3. the Fess-Kenyon Act of 1920, providing for the training and placement in industry of physically handicapped persons;
4. the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, which provides for instructing mothers, present and prospective, in the care of their babies.

The Acts providing for the establishment of the agricultural experiment stations should properly be omitted from the list because they contain practically no provision for Federal supervision.

All the recent subsidy laws have certain features in common. First, they provide for the payment of money from the Federal treasury to the states. Second, they make these grants to the states on the basis, generally speaking, of population. Third, the money paid from the Federal treasury is paid to the states conditionally. Certain stipulations must be met before the states are entitled to receive Federal funds. These conditions are: (1) acceptance of the act by the state legislature, which involves setting up within the state an adequate administrative agency; (2) the matching of Federal funds. Every state is required to put up a dollar of its own money for every dollar it receives from the Federal Government. This feature of Federal aid has led some to dub it the "fifty-fifty system." (3) The state administering agency is required to submit detailed plans of its activities, which must be approved by the Federal bureau in charge. In each case the work is done in the state by state officials, but with a certain amount of Federal supervision.

Remarkable progress has been made under the various subsidy laws. The history of Federal aid is a story of transformed agriculture; of vocational schools with thousands of students in states which formerly did not have a single course in vocational training; of hopelessly disabled cripples, transformed into happy, independent wage earners; of states which for the first time are giving their mothers an opportunity to find a solution for the problems of motherhood, and offering their babies for the first time a real chance for life. Few of the people who oppose Federal subsidies maintain that the work is being improperly done, or that it is unnecessary.

There are some exceptions, of course. Just a few months ago former Governor "Jim" Ferguson of Texas took a fling at the Children's Bureau. "It is supposed to teach Texas mothers how to have babies," he cried, "in spite of the fact that the mothers of this state have made a success of having babies for over a hundred years." One is reminded of the story of the trained welfare worker who went to visit a mother in the slums. The woman became quite irritated. "So you're tryin' to teach me how to raise children," she said, "me that has buried seven."

Most of the opponents of the Federal subsidy system, however, take their stand on very different ground from Mr. Ferguson. They advance five main objections to Federal aid, with a great many variations. One is that these various functions are purely local in their scope, and that their solution is a problem for the states, and not the Federal Government. But when problems exist whose effects extend to the uttermost parts of the nation, it is difficult to believe that their solution rests entirely with the local communities.

Is education, whether it be vocational training for high school students, better knowledge of crops for farmers, better knowledge of babies for mothers, or

better knowledge of their economic potentialities for the physically handicapped, purely a local problem? That question was well answered by John W. Abercrombie, Alabama State Superintendent of Education, when he said:

Already over twenty millions of our people are residing in states other than those in which they were born, and it is no longer possible to permit a child to grow into citizenship in ignorance anywhere without endangering every other citizen everywhere.

Another objection frequently made to Federal subsidies is that they are stifling local initiative, and that the people are sitting back in complacent indifference. Such a statement is manifestly absurd. Competent and impartial observers in every state of the Union add the weight of their testimony to the vast mass of statistical data that without Federal funds most of the states would never even have attempted problems they are solving today. When the records show four or five states carrying on the work of civilian rehabilitation or child hygiene in 1918 or 1920, and forty or forty-five doing it in 1926, largely with state funds and entirely through state officials, it is difficult to believe that local initiative is being stifled and that local responsibilities are being shirked.

Three years ago the Supreme Court of the United States settled definitely the constitutionality of the Federal subsidy system. The twin cases of *Massachusetts v. Mellon* and *Frothingham v. Mellon*, brought to determine the constitutionality of Federal aid, were dismissed for want of jurisdiction; but the Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Sutherland, went on to make a number of observations which, though in the nature of *obiter dicta*, are highly illuminating. Said the Court:

Probably it would be sufficient to point out that the powers of the states are not invaded, since the statute imposes no obligation, but simply extends an option which the state is free to accept or reject. . . . But we do not rest here. What

burden is imposed upon the states, unequally or otherwise? Certainly there is none, unless it be the burden of taxation, and that falls upon their inhabitants, who are within the taxing power of Congress as well as that of the states where they reside. Nor does the statute require the states to do or yield anything. If Congress enacted it with the ulterior purpose of tempting them, that purpose may be effectively frustrated by the simple expedient of not yielding.

Clear straightforward language, direct and to the point. Yet that decision was handed down in 1923, and two years later Governor Ritchie of Maryland declared:

It simply cannot be argued that the Federal Government has any right to use Federal funds as a means of acquiring a control over local state purposes, which under the Constitution is not granted to the government but is reserved to the states. That, under our present Constitution, is simply indefensible.

Apparently not even the Supreme Court of the United States is able to convince the opponents of Federal aid that it is constitutional.

Another argument frequently raised against Federal aid is that it is paternalistic, that it tends to create a uniform mould into which all state administration must be cast; in other words, that it serves as an excuse for Federal officials to cram Federal policies down the throats of the states. Nothing is further from the truth than charges of Federal domination. The domination consists of a three- or four-day visit, once a year, by some Federal official to each state, supplemented by a searching scrutiny of the state's accounts, and a most careful examination of the plans submitted by the state. In each case the plan of activities is prepared by the state itself through its own officials, and varies with their concept of their state's needs. The Federal supervising bureaus have nothing more than a sort of veto power and they are careful to exercise that power with the very greatest infrequency. This summer I talked or corresponded with one hundred and forty-nine of the state officials administering the various subsidy laws for

education. I missed only twenty-nine. These are the men and women who are "suffering" from Federal bureaucracy, whose intimate knowledge of local conditions is being ignored, we are told, by ruthless Federal officials. And every one of the hundred and forty-nine, with not a single exception, declared in the strongest possible manner that there was no thought or question of Federal domination, and that Federal co-operation had been kindly and helpful in the extreme. Most of them went on to say that without the stimulus of Federal funds their state programs would not have reached the point where they are today for the next fifty years. If that be domination, then the more domination, the better.

Perhaps the most potent argument of the opponents of the Federal subsidy system is that it is economically unsound, because it results in a transference of wealth from the richer to the poorer states. Federal revenues are derived primarily, of course, from the wealthier states, while Federal subsidies are paid out, generally speaking, on the basis of population. The result is that some states get back far more than they pay in while others receive far less. Tables have been worked out by the distinguished Governor of Maryland to show that some states are receiving in Federal subsidies less than one per cent of the amount they contribute to the Federal treasury in the form of income taxes, while others are receiving anywhere from 100 to 300 per cent. Such tables are obviously misleading. They credit to New York State, for example, the amount of the income taxes paid in by the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific railroads, which do not have a single mile of track east of the Mississippi River. Likewise they credit to New York the entire income tax paid by the United States Steel Corporation, which has more stockholders in Pennsylvania than it has in the Empire State. If the total wealth of the several states, or their total current income, or some combination of the two, were used as the basis

of comparison, the results would be quite different. The disparities would be just about one-fourth as striking. Whatever the method of computation, however, it is obvious the Federal subsidies are not distributed among the several states in proportion as they contribute to the support of the Federal Government. There seems to be no good reason why they should be. Probably it has never been suggested that river and harbor appropriations or Federal post offices should be proportioned to the share of Federal taxation borne by each state. Now that such questions are being raised, they should be met squarely. Are we prepared to ignore the striking differences in the ability of the several states to support education, requiring each state to work out its own salvation—or condemnation? We compel the rich man, even though he be childless, or though he chooses to send his children to private school, to contribute to the support of the public school system. Are we going to permit the wealthier states to neglect their responsibility for the establishment of at least a national minimum of educational opportunity in this country? Or shall we recognize frankly that the Federal subsidy system brings to the poorer states a measure of financial relief, and that it brings to all the states a stimulus and a leadership that could come from no other source than the Federal Government?

PROVISIONS OF THE PROPOSED TOWNER-STERLING BILL⁴

The Towner-Sterling bill created a department of education, with an office in the Cabinet and various other officers, and authorized an appropriation of \$100,000,000 per year, divided as follows:

Seven million five hundred thousand dollars for the removal of illiteracy, \$7,500,000 for Americanization,

⁴ From remarks of Hon. Arthur M. Free, of California, in the House of Representatives. *Congressional Record*. 4696-8. February 27, 1926.

\$20,000,000 for physical education, \$15,000,000 for the preparation of public-school teachers, and \$50,000,000 for equalizing educational opportunities in the States.

The basis of apportionment follows: The \$7,500,000 for the removal of illiteracy was to be apportioned to the States in the proportions which their illiterate population of 14 years or over, not including foreign-born illiterates, bears to the total illiterate population of the United States. The \$7,500,000 for Americanization was to be apportioned in the proportion which the respective foreign-born population of the States bears to the total foreign-born population of the United States.

The \$20,000,000 for physical education was to be apportioned to the States in the proportion which their respective population bears to the total population of the United States (per capita basis). The \$15,000,000 for the training of teachers was to be apportioned in the proportion in which the number of public-school teachers in the respective States bears to the total number of public-school teachers in the United States. The \$50,000,000 for equalization of educational opportunities was to be apportioned one-half in the proportion that the number of children between the ages of 6 and 21 of the respective States bears to the total number of such children in the United States, and one-half in the proportion which the number of school-teachers employed in the respective States bears to the total number of public-school teachers in the United States.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION, ITS JUSTIFICATION, DEGREE AND METHOD⁵

The justification for creating a Department of Education lies primarily in the fact that education is of

⁵ By Horace M. Towner, representative from Iowa, chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives at Washington, D.C. *Builder*. 8: 227-32. August, 1922.

supreme importance under our system of government, and should receive the recognition its importance merits. It has been a source of wonder to foreign observers of our institutions that the United States has so far failed to give education such recognition. It is almost alone among nations in that respect. As reported by the Bureau of Efficiency, the National Government expended over \$65,000,000 during the year 1920 for educational purposes. The educational activities thus carried on are scattered among the numerous bureaus, divisions, and commissions without any coördination and with numerous duplications of work. The Bureau of Education occupying a subordinate place in the Department of the Interior, and supported by only a small appropriation, has no control or even knowledge of these various activities. It is apparent that in order to secure efficiency and economy in the work already assumed of this character a directing and coördinating head is required.

A Department is needed to coördinate and integrate the scattered educational forces among the States. It is proposed to create and organize a National Council of Education to consult and advise with the Secretary of Education on subjects relating to the promotion and development of education throughout the nation. This Council is to consist of the chief educational authority of each State, twenty-five educators, representing different interests in education, and twenty-five eminent persons, not educators, interested in education from the standpoint of the public. Annual conferences are to be called, at which the entire scope of the educational interests of the nation will be considered.

It is manifest that in order to carry on such work a Secretary of Education is required. Both in the councils of the Cabinet and in leadership and influence with the educational forces throughout the land, such an educational head is necessary to dignify and unify the educa-

tional work of the nation. This does not imply nor is it desired, if it were possible, to take from the States the control of their educational systems, nor does it mean the adoption of a national system of education. It is only to aid and encourage the States to greater educational endeavor, and by mutual conference and discussion to bring the States most backward the stimulus that will raise their standards to the level of the more forward and advanced.

It is believed that the creation of a Department of Education with its chief a Secretary in the President's Cabinet, will express for the first time in our history the nation's real interest in education; that it will promote by research, investigation, and reports the practical operation of our public school system throughout the United States; that it will by leadership and service stir the States and the people to a greater interest in educational work and to a more comprehensive knowledge of educational needs; and that it will mark the commencement of a new era of educational progress throughout the whole country.

It is further proposed that provisions shall be made to authorize appropriations from the National Treasury to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education. In order to do this effectively certain specific educational needs are considered as being the most important and pressing. Thus, appropriations are to be authorized to encourage the States for the removal of illiteracy, for the Americanization of immigrants, for the preparation of teachers, to promote physical education, and to equalize educational opportunities. It is believed that this selection of objects covers in large measures the most pressing educational needs in which there is an immediate national interest. A State may accept the provisions of any one or more of the respective apportionments by meeting the prescribed requirements and by providing for the expenditures from

State or local funds of a sum at least equally as large as the national grant for the particular apportionment authorized.

It is provided that these grants from the National Treasury are not dependent upon executive discretion or favor, but are compulsory when the States meet the conditions specifically stated in the Act.

These requirements are minimum requirements, and there can be no reasonable dissent as to their necessity and fairness. The National Government cannot make a grant without stating the purpose for which the grant is made and in making a contingent grant it must state specifically the conditions necessary to be met in order to secure the grant. On the other hand, the State is entitled to know just what the requirements necessary to receive its part of the apportionment are, so that it can be assured that if it meets those requirements, and those only, it will not have to appeal for executive favor in order to receive its grant, and will not be required to surrender control of its educational system to a centralized authority.

I presume that these propositions are familiar to you. I presume, also, that most of you are familiar with the arguments that have been advanced in its favor. Let us consider briefly some of the objections that are urged against this proposed legislation.

It is said that the legislation is unnecessary. This objection is urged both against the creation of a Department of Education, and against the proposal to aid the States by subventions from the National Treasury. There is always reluctance about creating a new department. Originally there were but three, State, Treasury, and War. An advisory attorney was selected, and afterward he became a member of the Cabinet. Then came at intervals, Navy, Post office, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce and Labor, and then, separately, Labor. Now we have ten departments, and our Cabinet is one

of the smallest among the nations. The purpose of the creation of all of these executive departments was to give recognition to and secure a more effective realization of our primary and essential National interests. Because the National Government was not given control of education, and because the States have exercised that power does not disparage the fact that education has been throughout our history a primary, almost a paramount interest, of the Nation. In 1785 the National Government made grants of its public lands for the "maintenance of public schools." The Ordinance of 1787 creating the Northwest Territory provided that "Schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." From that time down to the present the National Government has recognized education as an important interest of the Nation, and has aided it with grants both of lands and money. If it has been and is a primary interest of the Nation, why should not full recognition be given it by the National Government? It certainly is of equal importance with Commerce, or Agriculture, or Labor.

It is asserted by some objectors that merely to create a Department of Education and select a Secretary *will transfer the control of the schools from the States to the Nation*; that in some mysterious manner there will thus be created an autocracy that will reach out and absorb all the educational activities of the Nation; that for some undisclosed and malevolent purpose a conspiracy has been formed of the educators of the country to subvert the Constitution and destroy the liberties of the people. It is unnecessary to say in this presence that there is no effort being made anywhere or by anybody to transfer the control of the schools from the States to the Nation. On the contrary, and in most explicit terms the Secretary is forbidden to exercise any control over the schools within the States, and that power is expressly reserved to the States.

The objection is also urged that merely *to grant appropriations from the National Treasury contingent upon conditions, in and of itself transfers control from the States to the Nation*; that the States in order to secure the funds from the National Government will surrender their Constitutional rights; in short, that the Nation offers to buy from the States the control of the schools and assume the power of directing and managing the education of the people.

This objection, strange as it may appear, is the argument most strongly urged by the opponents of the legislation for National aid. It must appear indeed remarkable that such a purpose could have actuated the educators of the country in the formation of their bill. It has not generally been supposed that the school men of the Nation were engaged in a conspiracy to subvert the Constitution and secure control of the Government. It must appear to every reasonable man that there is no desire nor can there be any purpose on the part of the representatives of the Government to take over the control of the schools. It must also be apparent that the people of the States are not so stupid and submissive as to sell their right to control the education of their children for a money bribe.

The legislation is advocated because conditions are urgent and demand action, and because the States are in some cases unable, and in others unwilling, to meet the emergency without help. It is to stimulate the States to greater activity in the education of their own people; it is to aid them in reducing the burden and danger because of the ignorance of their people, that this legislation is urged. The Government has an equal interest with the States in the character of its citizens. The Government has no citizens nor interests within its territory outside the States. Their people are its people, and their citizens are its citizens. If the people of the States are ignorant, so are the people of the Nation. If

the peace, prosperity and security of the States must depend upon the intelligence of its citizens so is it with the Nation. With this community of interest there is a common obligation. So it is proposed to aid the States by granting them funds from the National Treasury, and in effect to say to the States: "The Government will help you to remove this burden and danger from your people, because your people are my people, and your interests are my interests." In effect, also, the Government declares to the States by this proposed legislation: "This aid is granted you upon the condition that you use it only for the purpose stated in the grant, and that you use it in your own way without dictation or control by the Government."

It may be again stated that all the conditions upon which aid is granted are statutory, and are specifically stated in the Act. These requirements may be changed by Congress, but they cannot be changed by the Secretary or any other executive officer. No additional requirements can be added, and no autocratic, bureaucratic, or centralized control imposed.

It should be further stated that before any State can receive the benefits of the Act such State must by legislative enactment accept its provisions. So that there must be an agreement of the representatives of the people of the Nation with the representatives of the people of the State before the legislation can become effective. Under such circumstances it is not probable, it is not possible, that the State will surrender its rights, or that the Nation will transcend its powers.

Attention is called to the fact that by the provisions of the bill the administration, the application and distribution of the funds within the State are exclusively committed to the State authorities. I think I am justified in saying that in no other legislation of this character ever enacted have the rights of the States been

so carefully guarded. Let me call your attention to this provision of the bill, found in Section 13:

PROVIDED, That courses of study, plans and methods for carrying out the purposes and provisions of this Act within a State, shall be determined by the State and local educational authorities of said State, and this Act shall not be construed to require uniformity of courses, plans, and methods in the several States in order to secure the benefits herein provided: AND PROVIDED FURTHER, That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this Act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally constituted State and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto except as herein provided to insure that all funds apportioned to said State shall be used for the purposes for which they are appropriated by Congress.

If any stronger or more explicit statement can be made to save to the States their right to control their own schools in their own way and to prohibit any interference on the part of the General Government, the friends of the measure would be glad to accept it.

It is said that contributions from the National Treasury are unnecessary, for the States will meet the emergency and provide the necessary means. If that were true, the objection would be good. But is it true?

Take illiteracy, as an example, and consider conditions. The census of 1910 showed that in the United States there were 5,500,000 over ten years of age who could not read or write any language. In addition there were 3,500,000 who could not speak, or read, or write English. This placed us below the standard of most of the civilized nations of the world. But that was not the worst. The examination of the draft registrants for service in the late war showed that of the men called between the ages of 21 and 31, nearly 25 per cent could not read a newspaper, could not write a letter home, and could not read the posted orders about the camps.

The Nation's defense is thus doubly impaired; first because one-fourth of the sons of America called to the colors are incapacitated for efficient service because of

their ignorance; and, second, because the safety of a free country is jeopardized when a determining portion of its voters cannot read the ballots they cast and can only vote as they are told.

Consider the economic loss which Secretary Lane estimates as at least \$825,000,000 each year! The Director of the Bureau of Mines states that of the 1,000,000 men engaged in mining in the United States 620,000 are foreigners and that of these 460,000 cannot speak English. He states that the removal of illiteracy among the miners would save annually 1,000 lives and 150,000 injuries. Investigation has shown that one-half the industrial workers cannot read the danger warnings or understand the orders given.

It has been said that illiteracy is a Southern problem. The facts do not warrant that conclusion. Georgia has 389,000 illiterates, but New York has 406,000. Alabama has 352,000, while Pennsylvania has 354,000. Louisiana has 352,000, Mississippi 290,000, and Texas 282,000; but Illinois has 168,000, Ohio 124,000, and even Massachusetts has 141,000.

It is thought that illiteracy is a race problem. But it is much more than that. There are over 1,000,000 more white illiterates in the United States than illiterate negroes.

Is not this clearly a National problem? If the Nation's safety is imperilled, if the lives of its citizens are being lost, and if the States are not able or not willing without help to remove this reproach and danger, is not National aid justified and imperative?

AMERICANIZATION

Consider the condition of our immigrant population. We now have over 15,000,000 foreign born people in the United States. More than 5,000,000 cannot speak, read, or write English. More than 2,000,000 cannot

read or write any language. Unfortunately, these foreigners often group themselves into alien settlements or colonies, where our language is not spoken, where our journals are not read, and where the whole environment is alien and non-American. These masses of alien ignorance constitute a rich soil for sowing the seeds of unrest and revolt. Revolutionary agitators who come to this country to advocate the destruction of our Government find here their opportunity.

To make the immigrant understand America is the only way to make him love America. He cannot love a country he does not understand. Education is the first requisite of Americanization. Education, first in our language, and then in the nature of our institutions is the best defense against the bolshevik and the anarchist.

This demand is not being met. When great States like Massachusetts and New York and Ohio have actually increased both their percentage and total of illiteracy within the decade from 1900 to 1910 because of their failure to educate their foreign born, we realize that even these enlightened commonwealths need stimulation and aid.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Perhaps no disclosure of the draft examinations carries more reproach to our intelligence than the fact that out of about 2,400,000 young men examined for service 700,000, or nearly one-third, were found disqualified because of physical disability. Ninety per cent of these disabilities could have been prevented by a knowledge of the simplest rules of hygiene and health. It was ignorance, gross ignorance, that in the vast majority of cases was the cause of their incompetence.

There is but one adequate remedy for this disgraceful and distressing condition—to put into all our schools a system of physical education. Unfortunately, this has not been done. The additional cost deprives thousands of schools and tens of thousands of children

of this essential element of education. Here again is the stimulation and the help of the Nation needed to remedy the existing unfortunate condition.

EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

That gross inequalities in educational opportunities exist within and among the States is well known. In the South almost one-half of the negro children never see the inside of a school room. In the North there is hardly a city that has adequate facilities for all its children. In some rural communities and factory districts the value of the property is so small that local taxation cannot support the schools. On an average the country boy has two months less school than the city boy.

Unfortunately, it is found that where the educational needs are greatest the schools are most inadequate. All over our land the poorest schools are in the poorest communities—just where the best schools are most needed. To equalize educational opportunities is a task that the Nation is especially qualified to undertake. To encourage and aid the backward States to bring their deficiencies up to a reasonable measure of efficiency and service is apparently a National duty. By such stimulation and coöperation we may be able to give to every child in America the advantage of at least a common school education.

PREPARATION AND PAY OF TEACHERS

The most pressing educational problem confronting the people of the United States at the present time is to obtain competent teachers for our schools. Thousands of schools have been closed because teachers of any kind could not be secured. Tens of thousands of schools are now being taught by incompetent teachers. Three hundred thousand are teaching who have no professional training whatever.

An equally imperative duty is that of providing means for the better preparation of teachers. We need about 700,000 teachers to teach our schools, and this requires about 120,000 new teachers each year to keep the quota full. Our schools and colleges preparing for teaching are turning out but 24,000 each year. Nearly 100,000 must enter the profession each year inadequately prepared. This condition is alarming and must be remedied. In some way we must bring States and the people to a realization of this danger. Unless conditions can be bettered we will have in the present decade even a larger proportion of near-illiterates than was disclosed by the war registration. Indifference as to the character of our schools and their teachers will inevitably lead to a deterioration of our citizenship. We must see to it that every school in the land is taught by a competent teacher. Nothing less than that is safe for either State or Nation.

If illiteracy is a National peril, if ignorance of our language and institutions is a source of danger, if unjustifiable inequalities exist in educational opportunities in our land, if our young men called to the service of their country are incapacitated because of ignorance of the ordinary rules of health, if schools are being closed for want of teachers, and almost one-half are being taught by incompetent teachers, then it can fairly be claimed that National aid for education is justified and necessary.

MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS

It is urged as an objection that it is unjust to call upon the stronger States to aid the weaker to educate their children; that the money derived from the general taxation which would fall heaviest on the richer States should not be used to help the poorer States; that each State should bear the burden and responsibility of educating its own people.

This objection was urged from the beginning against

the whole system of public schools. It was argued that parents should have the burden of educating their own children and that taxation to support common schools was unconstitutional and unjust. It was said the rich man was under no obligation to help educate the children of the poor. It was especially urged that those having no children to educate must not be taxed to help educate the children of others. It was still more strenuously insisted that it was especially iniquitous to tax the property of a bachelor to carry on schools for others' children.

But all those objections were disregarded, and now no one claims that it is unjust to tax the rich man to educate the poor man's children, and the bachelor must pay his taxes to support the schools, whether he wants to or not. It is recognized that the welfare of a community or State depends upon the character of its citizens; that the city or State is concerned for its own safety and peace in the intelligence of all its citizens, and that each must contribute his share to the common good.

So with the Nation. We have seen how its safety may be jeopardized because of the illiteracy and physical incapacity of so many of its young men. We have seen how in a free Government its security and prosperity depend on the intelligence of its entire electorate. Neither illiterates nor alien malcontents can be confined to any one State. And so it is a National problem as well as a State and local problem. Manifestly, it needs the coöperation of all these to find and apply the remedy.

THE NATION CANNOT AFFORD IT

The cost to the Government is urged as an objection to the legislation. To place this additional burden on the Government at this time of extraordinary expenditures would be unwise, it is said. Our people already groaning under the weight of Federal taxes will not approve this addition to the load, it is argued. Granting

the full weight of this objection, it must be admitted that the Nation must make choice as to its expenditures. Wise action depends on selecting those objects for National appropriations which are most needed and most important. There is nothing in our scheme of Government more important than the education of the people. Whatever else may be left out, education cannot safely be excluded. And this may be said to the credit of our people, that the one thing that justifies a tax in their judgment is that which strengthens and supports our public schools. There are many millions annually appropriated which in their opinion have much less justification than the appropriations authorized by this bill. We might cut off a hundred million from either the Army or the Navy bills with less danger and more profit than to omit this appropriation. We gave seventy-five millions the other day to the States for good roads. Are good roads of more importance than good schools? We are still spending millions to remove rocks from our harbors and snags from our rivers; to remove hog cholera in Iowa, and cattle ticks in Texas; to remove boll weevil in Alabama, and wheat rust in North Dakota,—are we justified in refusing to spend anything to remove illiteracy from our own American citizens? It is not that the things mentioned are not worthy of consideration, but certainly they are not more worthy of consideration than is the education of children. Those things are after all but economic ills, while ignorance imperils the safety and endangers the perpetuity of the Nation itself.

There are some outstanding facts regarding the relations of the Nation and the States toward education which it is wise to recognize. There has never been proposed in Congress any legislation which has even suggested that the Nation should take from the States the control of education. *No one has ever advocated it, no one now proposes it, no one in or out of Congress*

desires it. The proposition has no support anywhere by anyone. There is no legal authority for such legislation if anyone did propose it. If a bill carrying such a proposal were introduced, it would immediately be recognized as without Constitutional warrant, and would never even reach the calendar of either Senate or House.

To claim that anyone, sponsor or supporter of the pending educational bill, desires or expects National control of education to follow the enactment of the legislation under consideration is without the slightest sanction. To state that the emphatic and repeated negations expressed in the strongest language that can be used which are incorporated in the very terms of the proposed law mean nothing and will not be effective, is to say that no law can be made effective by its terms.

But while Congress has no desire nor purpose nor Constitutional power to take from the States the control of education, the General Government has the right to aid and encourage the States in the education of their and its citizens, and this right it has exercised repeatedly from the beginning of our history to the passage of the last appropriation Act. It granted sections of the public lands to the States for schools. It granted townships of land for the creation and support of universities. Lands were given as long as they lasted, and then money was given. Congress gives annually over two and a half million dollars from the National Treasury for the "support and further endowment of colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts." Every year we give tens of millions of dollars from the National Treasury in support of almost every form of education. Why is it that these grants are not opposed? Why is it that where education is so much needed, at the very bottom of our political and social structure, where it enters into the very texture of the fabric of our American citizenship—in form about which there is no controversy and in substance the acknowledged essential—why is it that when

it is proposed to strengthen our common school system the proposition is condemned and opposed?

It must be that such opposition is based upon a misconception of the proposed legislation. To think otherwise would be to believe that there were in our country those who really desired the destruction of our common school system. Such a belief no loyal American would desire to entertain.

It is characteristic of the American people to be intensely interested and enthusiastic in the formation and establishment of a particular public service, and then when they have succeeded and have placed it in what they believe competent hands, to go off and forget about it. In a degree that has been true of our common school system. We have been so absorbed in building cities, making railways, plowing prairies, redeeming wildernesses and subduing a continent that we have had little time to give to the humdrum work of the district school. Lately all our minds and hearts, all our energy and activities have been given to save our country and the world from a savage onslaught of outlaw nations. And as a consequence we have allowed twenty-five out of every one hundred of our sons and daughters to sink into deplorable depths of illiteracy and ignorance. We *must* rescue them. We *must* see that their successors shall not suffer like neglect and misfortune. We are compelled to realize that an intolerable condition exists which must not be allowed longer to continue. This calls for each of us to bear a part in the work set before us. By the memory of those who throughout all the years of our National life have given so much of thought and service to the upbuilding of the Republic; by the memory of the thousands who by the sacrifice of life itself have rescued the Nation from dishonor and destruction, we are called to meet and will fulfill the responsibilities which now are ours!

EDUCATION'S FIGHT FOR RECOGNITION

The United States is unique among the civilized nations of the world in that it fails to recognize education as one of the fundamental interests of the *Nation*.

When the President of the United States calls his Cabinet together for conference and advice, agriculture is so recognized. The one concern of the Secretary of Agriculture is the advancement of the Nation's agricultural efficiency. Congress, in 1923, authorized appropriations for the use of the Department of Agriculture to the amount of \$145,500,000. The 1923 Digest of Appropriations lists in detail the specific purposes for which this sum was voted by Congress. The following are representative: Over a half million was appropriated "for investigating the disease of hog cholera and for its control or eradication by such means as may be necessary—either independently or in cooperation with farmers' associations, State or county authorities." Six hundred thousand dollars was voted "for the payment of *indemnities* on account of cattle slaughtered in connection with the eradication of tuberculosis from animals." Over a half million was provided "for investigating the food habits of North American birds and other animals in relation to agriculture, horticulture, and forestry" and for similar investigations.

In the President's Cabinet, Commerce is recognized as a paramount National interest. The Secretary of Commerce speaks for the business interests of the Nation. Congress, in 1923, appropriated twenty-one million dollars for the work of this department. Nearly a half million dollars was provided "to investigate and report on domestic as well as foreign problems relating to production, distribution, and marketing." Nearly a million dollars was appropriated for the "collection of statistics"

⁶ From *National Education Association. Journal.* 13: 9-12. January, 1924.

including "semi-monthly reports of cotton production"—and "quarterly reports of tobacco." "For protecting the sponge fisheries," \$549,000 was provided.

When the President's Cabinet meets, one member is present whose sole interest is in the welfare of labor. Nearly nine million dollars was provided for the work of the Department of Labor by Congress in 1923. There was an appropriation of \$225,000 "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States." The sum of \$242,000 was appropriated for the maintenance of a bureau to collect statistics of peculiar significance to the wage earners of the Nation.

Why is the Federal Government so generous in making appropriations for the advancement of the Nation's agricultural interests, in assisting in the solution of the great problems of modern business and industry, and in guarding the welfare of labor—while at the same time the most niggardly appropriations are made for investigations which would profoundly influence public-school practice in the direction of greater efficiency? Is it because the people of the Nation fail to appreciate the crucial part played by the public school in a democracy? Those who know the sentiment of the Nation would not accept this explanation.

The answer is found in the organization of our Federal Government. Commerce and industry have a voice in the Nation's government. A Herbert Hoover constantly keeps the welfare and the problems of the Nation's business interests before the President and his Cabinet. When the Secretary of Commerce discusses the Nation's business interest, the Nation listens. His prestige and ability command the attention of Congress. His recommendations for legislation designed to advance industry are not lightly passed by. A Wallace and a Davis similarly stand ever ready to speak for Agriculture and for Labor.

Education has no such representation. Education is

submerged in the Department of the Interior, which includes a diversity of national interests. Of the 1923 appropriation of \$328,000,000 for the Department of the Interior, \$161,990 was for the use of the U.S. Bureau of Education as such—or less than one-twentieth of one per cent. This figure is roughly representative of the percentage of the time and thought that education may expect to receive from Secretaries of the Interior. Is it not too much to expect that any Secretary of the Interior, selected because of his touch with a miscellany of great questions, such as the reclamation service, the industry of mining, and Indian affairs, will be in close touch with the vital problems of education?

Only a Department of Education with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet can expect to command the resources and respect that will lift education to the rightful place among the Nation's primary interests. It is too much to expect that the people of the Nation, that the Congress of the United States, or that the 800,000 teachers of the Nation will be satisfied with a submerged bureau enjoying a smaller appropriation than is made available for the use of the offices of some of our State superintendents of schools.

Why is education a primary National interest? Why does education deserve to rank with Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor? Education directly concerns all of our 110,000,000 people. Each year 25,000,000 children come under the direct influence of our 275,000 public schools. Close to \$15,000,000 is being expended yearly for the maintenance of these schools. These schools affect every phase of our increasingly complex civilization. The results of good schools or of poor schools are not confined to the localities in which schools exist. The ignorance that results in hookworm in Alabama makes raw cotton more expensive in Massachusetts. Tuberculosis in Massachusetts adds to the cost of an Iowa farmer's overalls. The negro illiteracy of the South almost over-

night becomes the problem of Pennsylvania. We are all affected, we are all poorer, when any of our population is physically or educationally below par.

It is for the public interest that tubercular hogs should be destroyed and that the owners of such hogs should be indemnified from Federal funds. But is the eradication of tubercular hogs of less *National* concern than the prevention of illiteracy among thousands of our native-born citizens? Is a half million dollar Federal appropriation "for investigating the disease of hog cholera and for its control or eradication by such means as may be necessary" more of a National function than the appropriation of a similar amount to a Department of Education to "conduct studies in the field of education?" Is the provision of "quarterly reports" on tobacco production more of a National function than the provision of adequate school statistics for the guidance of local school boards in their expenditure of a billion and a half of school money each year?

Public education is today a more important National interest than forest supervision, concrete highways, fish propagation, game preserves, or the control of cattle tick or bovine tuberculosis. All of these we accept today as proper National functions. We generally accept the principle of an equalization of advantages and burdens throughout wide areas by ordering common railway rates; common charges for electric light and power, water, gas, and telephone services; common costs for health and agricultural services and common postal rates. It costs the same to send a letter from Key West to Seattle as from Minneapolis to St. Paul. If rural residents paid the actual cost of the rural mail service, the cost of this service in many country districts would be prohibitive. It is only by a pooling of costs on a large scale, as expressed in common service rates, that common and universal services can be provided. These new services have come recently, after better ideas as to equalization have come to

prevail. We accept an equalization of costs for them as perfectly proper. Education began much earlier, in the days of little things and local effort, and we often fail today to see that the same principle of equalization should apply.

These fundamental facts are recognized in the Education Bill. In one of its first sections, it provides for the establishment of a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet. Thus, education would be given the recognition which its primary importance in our democracy justifies.

The Education Bill also creates a National Council on Education, an agency through which the best educational thought of the Nation could be pooled. In the National Council each year would be brought together the following citizens to consider "subjects relating to the promotion and development of education"; 1. The State superintendents or commissioners of the forty-eight States; 2. Twenty-five persons not educators interested in the results of education from the standpoint of the public; 3. Twenty-five educators representing different phases of education.

This National Council on Education would be a tremendous force for better schools. To this body the Secretary of Education would present the results of the investigations of the Department of Education. Experience would be pooled. The mission of the public school in a democracy would receive careful thought. The results of this great annual conference on education would be carried back to the States by the State superintendents to be adopted by the local school boards in their direction of the schools—in making these schools better to meet their local, State, and National purposes.

The Education Bill would further recognize the primary importance of education by authorizing substantial appropriations of Federal money to encourage the States to correct five outstanding educational deficiencies of

National significance. This principle of Federal aid is not new. Education is receiving Federal aid now and has since the very beginning of our history. In 1785 Congress set aside lot No. 16 in every township "for the maintenance of public schools." Since then Congress has repeatedly granted land and money for the encouragement of education.

The Education Bill would extend this principle by authorizing further Federal appropriations to be used by the States in the solution of five specific educational problems fundamental to worthy citizenship both in the States and in the Nation.

The first of these problems is illiteracy. 5,000,000 illiterates were enumerated in the 1920 census. The majority of them—over 3,000,000—were *native-born Americans*. These 5,000,000 according to the census "should be understood as representing only those persons who have had no schooling whatever." In the draft *one man in every four* could not write a letter home or read a newspaper in English. Such a condition in a democracy is a menace. Economically it costs us nearly a billion annually according to an estimate made by Franklin K. Lane. Illiteracy and ignorance constitute a National problem and can be met successfully only by a National approach. This the bill recognizes by authorizing annually an appropriation, so long as the illiteracy problem continues, not to exceed \$7,500,000 from the Federal Treasury to be apportioned among the several States for use in stamping out illiteracy.

The second great National need recognized by the bill is the education of our enormous alien population. 8,000,000 of our 14,000,000 foreign-born citizens come from countries in which from 25 to 80 per cent of the population is illiterate. Millions of these people are illiterate or unable to speak English. The lack of facilities for adult education makes it impossible for many of these people to take the first step toward becoming in-

telligent citizens. To aid in correcting this condition, the bill authorizes an annual maximum appropriation of \$7,500,000 from the Federal Treasury for the use of the States in Americanizing our foreign-born adult population.

A third object of the bill is the promotion of physical education. 1,340,623 *men, one in every six examined* during the World War, were rejected for physical deficiencies. These men were supposedly in the prime of life, under 32 years of age. The great majority of their defects were *preventable*. "The economic loss to the Nation from *preventable* disease and death is \$1,800,000,000 yearly" according to the report of Herbert Hoover's Committee on Waste in Industry.

The bill would strike straight at the menace of physical degeneration by authorizing the appropriation each year of not more than \$20,000,000 for use of the States in promoting physical education.

A fourth section of the bill further recognizes that the classroom taught by an untrained and an inexperienced teacher is a menace to democracy. In the United States in 1923, 50,000 teachers with practically no experience and with no training beyond common school were attempting to prepare 1,000,000 children for citizenship in the world's greatest democracy—unskilled labor for work requiring great skill. Children cannot be prepared for successful citizenship in our present complex democracy by immature, untrained teachers.

This is no new problem. It existed before the war. The war exaggerated the condition, but little has been done that is fundamentally corrective. The great majority of our teachers still possess less than the minimum amount of training ordinarily recognized as necessary for successful teaching by other civilized nations. By annually appropriating a maximum of \$15,000,000 to aid the States in the training of teachers the bill would strike at one of our outstanding educational weak spots. Noth-

ing could do more to elevate the teaching profession to a place of respect throughout the Nation than by allowing none but qualified teachers to undertake the skilled task of instructing the Nation's children.

Finally the bill aims to reduce the glaring educational inequalities that mock the Nation's ideal—an equal chance for all. *Millions of American children are now being denied any educational opportunity.* 1,437,000 children from 7 to 13 years of age were listed by the last census as not attending "any kind of educational institution." Over 1,000,000 child workers were enumerated, counting only those from 10 to 15 years of age. Millions of other children are being given such meager school opportunities that they may be expected to reach maturity in ignorance, lacking even the fundamental tools—reading and writing—by which information may be acquired.

Such educational inequalities weaken the whole Nation. The intelligent citizen's vote may be nullified by that of the ignorant. The denial of school opportunities to millions of American children is a matter that deserves National attention. This the bill recognizes by authorizing the yearly appropriation of not over \$50,000,000 to encourage the States to equalize educational opportunities. This money would be used by the States for the partial payment of teachers' salaries, for providing better instruction, lengthened terms, and otherwise providing educational opportunities for all children.

The accomplishment of these five great purposes would infinitely strengthen our schools. They can be most effectively accomplished through Federal aid and encouragement. None of the provisions of the bill would result in Federal control of education. The bill provides in the most specific terms for the continuance of State and local control of the schools. Section 13 states, "That all the educational facilities encouraged by the provisions of this act and accepted by a State shall be organized, supervised, and administered exclusively by the legally

constituted State and local educational authorities of said State, and the Secretary of Education shall exercise no authority in relation thereto; and this act shall not be construed to imply Federal control of education within the States, nor to impair the freedom of the States in the conduct and management of their respective school systems."

The bill also provides that all Federal funds apportioned to a State under the act "shall be distributed and administered in accordance with the *laws of said State*—and the State and local educational authorities of said State shall determine the courses of study, plans, and methods for carrying out the purposes" for which the Federal money is provided.

LET'S STOP THIS "FIFTY-FIFTY" BUSINESS¹

The "fifty-fifty" system of federal aid to the states, in its modern lavish form, had its inception in 1914. Its beginning was modest enough. In that year, Congress enacted the Smith-Lever law, which has for its purpose the promotion of cooperative agricultural extension work.

The appropriation carried in the bill for the first year of its operation was \$480,000 to be divided equally among the 48 states on condition that their legislatures appropriate an equal amount for carrying on the work of educating their citizens in agriculture and home economics.

The next step was the Federal Good Roads Bill of 1916, for which the first year's appropriation was \$5,000,000. From these lowly origins, the growth of the subsidy system has been nothing short of astonishing. It has been like the proverbial snowball rolling downhill. Its popularity, particularly among western and southern members of Congress, has been immense.

Its ramifications have taken many different directions

¹ By James W. Wadsworth, senator from New York. *Nation's Business*. 14: 23-4. March, 1926.

from road building to teaching mothers how to care for their infants. Today, its inroads on the Federal Treasury have reached the enormous total of \$110,000,000 annually, which, of course, requires substantially an equal outlay from the states, so that the total cost of the system to the tax-paying public is well over \$200,000,000 a year.

The time has come, in my opinion, to take stock, and to get a clear understanding as to where we are headed. I do not contend that the subsidy system is wrong in every detail or that it ought to be abolished entirely. There may be some functions performed under it which can be done better by the Federal Government than the states. But I do believe that it could and should be radically curbed both in the interest of economy and sound policy and that steps should be taken to place a check upon its growth before it undermines our whole system of dual sovereignty of the state and nation.

I hear now of a movement to get \$100,000,000 annually from the Federal Government for the purpose of promoting education in the various states on the "fifty-fifty" plan. A certain organization is placarding the nation with a slogan to stimulate a campaign for the construction and *maintenance* of 250,000 miles of good roads "by the Federal Government."

One of my colleagues says he would like to see the federal appropriation for good roads doubled, making it about \$160,000,000 annually, so that the National Government would then relieve the states entirely of the payment of their 50 per cent of the roads expenditures.

A decent regard for the capacity of the Federal Treasury and of the principle of local self-government, if it is not to become wholly obsolete, requires that we learn soon where the extension of this expensive form of federal encroachment on state responsibility may be expected to end. During the last session, I tried to get the Sen-

ate to approve an amendment calling for a statement of the ends sought in the federal good roads program.

The amendment directed the Secretary of Agriculture to have prepared, in cooperation with the appropriate state authorities, a map or plan outlining the system of post roads which, in his judgment should be improved under the Federal Aid System, and to submit that map or plan to Congress together with estimates as to the cost and the period of time necessary for the completion of the work.

I contended, and still contend, that Congress is entitled to know what is contemplated for the future, how much it will cost and how long it will take. If we are to go on expending \$80,000,000 or \$90,000,000 or even more a year we ought to have some plan on which to build and that plan ought to be before Congress so that we will know not only where we start but where we are going.

Strangely enough, that amendment was voted down. It was opposed on the ground that it might be construed in some way as calling a halt on future appropriations. The ardent advocates of the subsidy system apparently didn't want to know where we are headed.

There are five main forms of federal subsidies: Highway Construction (Act of July 11, 1916); Agricultural Extension (Smith-Lever Act of May 8, 1914); Vocational Education (Act of Feb. 23, 1917); Vocational Rehabilitation (Act of June 3, 1920); and Maternity and Infant Hygiene (Act of Nov. 23, 1921).

During the fiscal year 1924, (the last one for which completed figures are available), the Department of Agriculture, by authority of Congress, of course, disbursed \$98,790,595.19 in various forms of subsidies. The disbursements for road construction were approximately \$90,000,000. Expenditures for vocational education were \$5,412,143.40; for agricultural extension, \$5,820,816.89; and promotion of welfare and hygiene of maternity and industry \$720,694.79.

These disbursements, with numerous smaller doles, brought the total for the year up to \$110,377,443.68. No less than \$80,000,000 is needed to carry out the highway construction plans for next year and still another \$116,700,000 will be required to discharge additional obligations already incurred under the same head.

An interesting feature of the system is the manner in which some states are called upon to pay the great proportion of this outlay, from which they receive only a minute share in return. A few instances will serve to illustrate the point.

The state of Nevada pays into the Federal Treasury \$760,000 annually and receives in subsidies \$1,845,945, or 262 per cent of the amount it contributed to the maintenance of the Federal Government. North Dakota pays in \$1,282,838 and takes out \$1,487,859. South Dakota pays \$1,951,248 and gets in return \$2,094,133.

Contrast this with the case of Pennsylvania which pays in \$269,000,000 to the Federal Treasury and receives in return \$1,839,000 or about 0.7 per cent.

New Jersey pays in \$112,000,000 and takes out 652,000 or 0.58 per cent. Connecticut fares still worse. It pays in \$37,000,000 and gets back \$201,000 or 0.54 per cent.

The representatives of the western states have a ready answer for this. They say that the Federal Government holds vast areas in the public domain within their borders and hence it is only fair that the National Government should contribute a large share to the improvements and expenses in those states. But there is an answer to that. Under the Federal Forest Fund Act of 1907, 25 per cent of the gross revenues from timber sales, live-stock privileges, and other uses of the forest reserves go back to the states within which the reserves are located for school and roads and 10 per cent for forest trails and roads.

In addition to this, the Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 provides for the payment of 37½ per cent of bonus and

royalties on those reserves. Under these two acts, refunds to the states are more than \$16,000,000, of which 11 western states get \$14,000,000 leaving less than \$2,000,000 to be divided among the other 37 states. Some of the states get absolutely nothing.

Wyoming gets \$5,143,434, an amount equal to 246 per cent of the amount of federal taxes it pays into the treasury. When the subsidies are added to this amount, Wyoming receives from the Federal Government \$6,491,285. Its contribution to federal taxes is \$2,088,353. The amount of the subsidies and refunds therefore is equal to 310 per cent of the state's contribution to the National Government.

On the other hand, take the case of the state of New York. Its share of the federal tax burden is \$690,415,425, and it receives in return \$4,474,294. I am not objecting because New York does not receive more but it seems to me that the time has come to lay a restraining hand upon the practice of wet-nursing some states at the expense of others.

But questionable as these features of the system are the most dangerous phase of it in my opinion is its tendency towards the breaking down of the principle of local self-government and the creation of an all-powerful federal bureaucracy.

The danger does not lie in the Federal Aid System alone by any means. During the last 15 years the Federal Government has undertaken the exercise of a large number of new and important functions. A scanning of the list of congressional enactments during this period reveals something of the situation. For example, since President Roosevelt left the White House on March 4, 1909, we have established the Federal Trade Commission with inquisitorial powers over every business concern engaged in interstate commerce.

We have set up a Tariff Commission charged with the duty of investigating the costs of manufacturing at

home and abroad and advising the President, and through him the Congress, as to the differences in those costs. We have created a Federal Farm Loan Board and given it authority to supervise the making of loans on farm lands all over the country.

We have established a United States Shipping Board with its Emergency Fleet Corporation and have put the Government into the commercial shipping business, with results known to all.

We have given important authority to the Secretary of Agriculture in connection with the operation of the grain exchanges. In this same period, by Constitutional Amendment we have given the Federal Government the right to impose taxes upon all incomes from whatever source derived. And most important of all, through the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, we have given the Federal Government police power over every citizen to an extent never dreamed of by the founders of the Government.

This tremendous extension of federal power, together with federal aid development has resulted in establishing at Washington, with branches all over the country, a vast governmental machinery, so powerful, so complicated, that the average citizen is utterly unable to comprehend it. Certainly, we should pause before we permit its further extension and enlargement. For if we continue this centralization of power and this assumption of governmental functions, we shall most certainly smother the ability of our people to govern themselves in the several states and in their home communities.

Too often, we are tempted to hand over to the Federal Government the doing of those things which can be done perfectly well by the states and their subdivisions, because, for the moment, it seems the easiest way to relieve ourselves of the burden of local responsibility and the duty of living up to it.

Our comparative success in governing ourselves for

the past 150 years has rested most of all upon the initiative and enterprise of our people in meeting and solving governmental problems as they arise.

If we continue to take power away from the people and to transfer it to Washington we shall destroy those qualities, our local governments will dwindle to the vanishing point and we shall find the average man becoming a servant of the Government instead of its master. Let us remember that our country is a federal union of states, not an empire. Realizing as we must the dangers of a bureaucracy, irresponsible and remote from our view, let us pause and survey our situation before we yield to its inducements.

TEACHERS BONUS BILL *

No other agency in the social order is so vital to a nation as its public school system. The schools are the arteries through which circulate the very life blood that nourishes the mind and the conscience of a people. For this reason any measure intended to modify and readjust the plan of public instruction is of highest concern to every citizen.

It has not generally been recognized in the hearings on this bill (Sterling-Reed) that the question of supervision and subsidy of education by the national government, through a department of education, is not primarily a question of education. It is a question of statesmanship. A legislative measure may be directed to the attainment of a most desirable object and yet adopt methods for the attainment of that end which are capable of doing great and lasting injury to the body politic. No one can question the need to banish illiteracy, to teach a wholesome hygiene to all children, and to better the

* From article by Henry S. Pritchett, president, Carnegie Foundation.
14p. Author. New York. Reprinted from the *New York Times*. April 6, 1924.

salaries of hard-worked and devoted teachers, but the question whether these things can be accomplished by a central agency in Washington, directed by a politically-appointed head entrusted with the disposition of huge subsidies, is primarily one of public policy and of political experience, not of education. This measure needs, therefore, to be examined first from the point of view of the statesman, and then from that of the teacher. Is the measure wise and sound as a matter of public policy? And, if so, is it justified from the standpoint of public education in a democracy? These are the questions that ought to be answered clearly and fairly before the nation embarks on so momentous a policy.

The advocacy in our country of a department of education headed by a cabinet officer is no new thing. It has been discussed almost from the founding of the office of the Commissioner of Education in 1867. The earlier advocates of the notion pointed to European ministers of education as splendid examples of the system, and particularly to Prussia. The low rate of illiteracy, the high general average of the schools, the efficiency of the state-trained teachers were all dwelt upon as notable illustrations of what could be accomplished by a state-directed system of education. This argument has not been popular in recent years. The Prussian centralized system proved in time a little too efficient. Starting with admirable measures for general and technical education, it ultimately gained complete control of the minds and of the consciences of Prussian children, and transformed religion itself into a glorified worship of the State.

The objections to a centralized department of education lie in the very ideals of our democracy. It is not in the interest of the whole body of people in the various states and communities to take the risk that inheres in the establishment of a central department of education intrusted with large (and no doubt ever-growing) subsidies. No one believes that a secretary of education in

our country would be in a position to carry out the educational regime that made Prussia, through its schools, the most highly disciplined but the most subservient people in Europe. On the other hand, no one can doubt, in the light of the history of such centralized agencies, that a department at Washington would tend more and more toward bureaucratic control of education, that it would use its subsidies to promote its own educational theories, and that its influence would in time run counter to the free normal development of American citizenship. Even if one could feel assured that illiteracy would be banished and hygiene taught to all the children through centralization in education. But who can be sure that the secretary of education, even with his subsidies, can compass these results any faster or any better than they are being accomplished by the states and communities working in their own way and on their own responsibility? European centralized departments of education have never yet succeeded in banishing illiteracy. France has perhaps the most highly centralized department of education, but recent examinations of the men called to the colors have shown an astonishing illiteracy. We are making steady progress in these matters. Our government is founded on the conception that education is primarily an obligation resting on the states and their communities. This is sound democratic reasoning based on long experience. Do we wish to adopt the undemocratic plan of centralized education, with its risks and its doubtful advantages?

A second objection, arising out of consideration of large public policy, rests upon well-known economic facts. If the states and communities once accept the notion that local schools and teachers are to be subsidized out of appropriations from the treasury of the general government, not only will the sense of community responsibility for education be weakened but ever-increasing pressure will be put upon the Congress to give in larger and

larger measure. The one hundred millions carried by the bill, as now drawn, will in time swell into sums beyond any man's ability to estimate. There is no way by which the obligation for the support of education can be permanently shifted from a community, large or small, without weakening its sense of educational responsibility. In some states laws have been passed under which the facilities of a limited area are to some extent equalized. The plan is sound only so long as the area is so limited that the sense of community responsibility is not lost. To undertake artificially to equalize educational opportunities over our vast country through a national department of education will not succeed. But one may be very sure it will go far to destroy the community sense of educational responsibility, and most certainly it will in time impose upon the treasury of the United States a staggering burden.

The sentimental appeal by the representatives of the National Education Association that education is belittled because the nation spends money on hog cholera, or agriculture, or commerce, but has no national department of education is based on a misconception of that which government can and ought to do. This plea is precisely like the movement of forty years ago to put "God into the Constitution." A secretary of religion with subsidies for ministers, priests and rabbis might be urged upon the same ground, and in time this may come about if the ministers, priests and rabbis can organize with an energetic "legislative division." Education is not to be made honorable by a cabinet officer and a subsidy. It will be honored in just such proportion as it is sincere, thorough, and wise, and fitted to the varying needs of each community.

From the point of view of large public policy this bill cannot be commended to the people of the United States. It proposes to depart from the constitutional methods of the past, under which the responsibility for

tax-supported education was placed squarely upon the states and the communities. That the legislation proposed will weaken the sense of local responsibility is certain; that a centralized department of education carries great risks to democratic ideals is equally certain. That it will ultimately impose a stupendous load on the national treasury cannot be doubted. That its establishment in response to organized propaganda would be but the beginning of indefinite demands no one can doubt.

One of the gravest objections to the Sterling-Reed Bill lies in the fact that it is a part of the prevailing movement for group legislation, well meant by those who propose it, but undemocratic, paternal in its efforts, and capable of great harm both to the people and to the schools. Education will be better served in the long run if the communities retain their educational freedom. Progress may be slower for the moment. Illiteracy may not be cured so quickly, but in the end we shall have better schools, and they will represent more truly the aspirations and desires of the various communities. A democracy may well hesitate at the notion of schools standardized under the central government, with the aid of huge subsidies. The benefits are too dubious, the risks too great, and the cost is beyond any one's estimate.

When one considers this complicated measure from the standpoint of the education of the whole people he finds in it weaknesses no less serious for the cause of education than for that of democratic ideals.

The history of European countries has shown both the strength and the danger of the centralized bureau of education in autocratic countries. What can a national bureau of education do, and what ought it to do, for a democracy scattered over a continent of infinite diversities, made up of free self-governing commonwealths? These commonwealths vary enormously in population, in area, in industry. The most populous has ten million inhabitants, the least populous contains sev-

enty thousand people scattered over an area half as large as France. A centralized national bureau of education for this union of states so diverse in their problems and needs cannot possibly undertake the role of similar departments in the smaller, compact, closely-administered European states.

This bill assumes that the secretary of education will scrutinize, study and develop their diverse educational needs better than the states and their communities.

This assumption is, in my judgment, unfounded. The states and communities will avail themselves of any monies the secretary can hand out and they will go far to meet his conditions. They will balk at taking his advice, and they will resent his criticism, if it be sufficiently explicit to be of real value. This has been illustrated in the history of the present National Bureau of Education. That Bureau has been of great service as a source of educational information. Its educational statistics met a distinct need. Some years ago it undertook to exercise the function of educational critic. A report on colleges, comparing institutions in different sections of the country, was prepared. When it became known that this report made discriminating comparisons between institutions in different sections of the country an energetic and effective protest was made. The report still slumbers on the shelves of the Commissioner of Education. The conception of a secretary of education in the role of national critic can be realized in Germany, or France, or Austria, but not in democratic America. The great service a national agency of education can render is in the furnishing of accurate, significant and fruitful information, statistical and otherwise. This can be done by the present Bureau of the Commissioner of Education, if properly manned and supported, far better than by a politically-appointed cabinet officer. There are some things that can be done in an autocratic government that cannot be done, and had best not be attempted, in a democracy. The

standardization of education by a central department of education is one of them.

A democracy does not need, nor does it desire, a uniform standardized system of education. It is in the interest of the public good that schools and colleges should have a local individual development, that they minister to the needs and aspirations of their communities. We see already too strong a tendency to have every college duplicate every other college and every high school imitate every other high school. That which a centralized department of education can do for the schools of the country belongs to the machinery of organization. Education needs today not more organization but less. It needs to revive respect and regard for the relation of teacher and pupil, and to put sincerity and thoroughness above organized curricula.

The essential educational weakness of the measure lies in the fact that those who propose it are thinking neither of the country nor yet of education in the deeper sense, but of particular pedagogic tasks—the teaching of illiterates, instruction in hygiene, the better training of teachers. These things are important, but there is another consideration far more important. A country does not exist for its schools. It does not exist for its government. On the contrary, both the schools and the government exist for the people. What matters chiefly is that the quality of human life shall be high. The schools exist that the quality of human life of the American people may be high, that their children may be taught to think and that they may learn to use freedom wisely. These things cannot be compassed by organization, they cannot be brought into a community by a distant government bureau, they must arise out of the strivings of the community itself. This is of the very essence of democratic government, a conception of which we constantly talk, but whose methods we are only too ready to reject in favor of some short cut. There are no short cuts that are not dangerous to civil and intellectual liberty.

Whether one study this bill from the standpoint of public policy or from that of public education he cannot fail to see that it contains grave risks and promises doubtful gains.

FEDERAL SUBSIDIES FOR EDUCATION*

Lest there be any doubt concerning my attitude toward federal subsidies for public-school education, let me state at the outset that I am totally opposed to any participation by the Federal Government in the support and direction of our public schools, not only because I believe that it involves policies subversive of our entire theory of government, but also because I believe that it involves policies which in the long run are bound to be bad for education itself. I believe that the policy of granting federal aid in support of public-school education is fundamentally unsound as a policy of government; that it is dangerous for education; that it is bad economic policy, and that it is essentially unfair.

Having thus taken a position which probably appears extreme to the majority of this body, I am in duty bound to give my grounds for assuming that position. But before attempting this it is necessary to clear the ground of the jungle growth of tangled thought which may interfere with the free swing of our axe at the deadly upas tree of federal subsidies.

In the first place let us recognize that in all parts of this country public education is very, very far from being that which we should all like to see it, that in parts of the country it is almost unbelievably bad, that vocational education has scarcely begun to be recognized, that the amount of illiteracy and of near-illiteracy is alarmingly great, that attention to physical education throughout the country is almost negligible, that our

* From address by Alexander Inglis, delivered before Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, February 27, 1922. *Educational Record*. 3: 114-25. April, 1922.

large foreign population constitutes a serious problem for education and for society, that most country children do not have anything like a fair opportunity for education, that in many sections of the country short school terms make effective education all but impossible, that a large part of our teachers lack proper education, training, and experience—let us recognize all these and many other defects of education too numerous to catalog. They are conditions which cry aloud for reform in the appealing voices of children deprived of their rights as American citizens. They are undoubted and indubitable facts which cannot be ignored.

But it is a far cry from recognition of the defects and needs of education to the conclusion that those defects should be or will be remedied and those needs met by some form of federal subsidies. Such a conclusion has no necessary relation to the single premise of present inefficiency, and denial of a policy of federal subsidies does not for a moment imply any unwillingness or unreadiness to take effective steps for the improvement of existing conditions. It is sheer demagogism to charge those who oppose federal subsidies with failure to appreciate the needs of education or with unreadiness to improve existing conditions. The problem to be faced is not one which involves the question of recognizing and remedying those conditions: it is one which involves solely the question of the best methods to be employed. It is not a question of whether we shall call upon the Federal Government to participate in the support and control of public education or rely on those means that have in the past been almost wholly responsible for the development of a system of education which, in spite of all its defects and shortcomings, constitutes one of the greatest achievements of the American democracy.

Back of all arguments for federal subsidies for education lie two premises which are worthy of consideration: (1) That there is great need for improvement;

(2) that states and communities have shown themselves unwilling or unable to remedy the grave deficiencies which are readily recognized. The first of these premises is undoubtedly sound and need not be debated. The second premise has by no means been established and deserves far more serious consideration than it has received. It is well worth while to consider briefly both the question of the readiness of states and communities to improve educational conditions and the question of their ability properly to support education.

Are states and communities unwilling or unready to assume and perform their responsibilities for public education and to remedy existing defects? There can be no doubt that all states have in some degree been delinquent in provision for important educational needs. There can be no doubt that many states have long permitted intolerable conditions to continue. Fundamentally important educational needs have long been neglected by states and communities. We cannot too strongly condemn such neglect. But the facts of the situation have not always been considered carefully by those who would cut the Gordian knot of education with federal subsidies and by federal participation in the support and control of public education. Without diminishing in the least our disapproval of defects in state school administration, we should recognize certain facts which in part explain, though they do not excuse, some of the conditions which we so strongly regret.

It is a fact that some of the conditions which we criticise are the direct results of our very attempts to improve education. An example of this is found in the problem of teacher supply, a problem in no small degree created by our attempts to extend facilities for education and to extend the amount of schooling provided. More schools, more children in school, and an extension of provisions for compulsory attendance—these things have created a demand for teachers that could not possibly be

met in any brief period and that cannot be met overnight by legislative fiat.

A second fact to be kept in mind when we examine the delinquencies of states and communities is the fact that it is only recently that even educators have really become conscious of actual conditions. It took a great war and the draft to make us realize the perils of illiteracy, the demand for Americanization, and the needs of physical education. It has taken a new science of education and comprehensive surveys to bring existing conditions and needs to the consciousness even of specialists in education. It is not too much to say that our conceptions of public education have been all but revolutionized within the past two decades, and it is a legitimate question whether we have not attempted to progress too rapidly. Certainly we cannot criticize states and communities for their failure completely to adjust their educational systems to all the multitudinous needs that have been recognized in their fullness and actually created only within a decade or less.

It is true, of course, that many defects of education have long been recognized and are still to be remedied. But it is also true that within recent years authorities in almost every state have been trying hard and have been succeeding gradually to remedy those defects. There are few states which at the present time have not fairly definite plans for the elimination of the short school term, for the removal of illiteracy, for Americanization, for improvement in physical education, for the development of practical and vocational education, for the improvement of the teaching force, and for the most of the other improvements which might be considered as likely subjects for federal subsidies. In all parts of the country the disclosures of the selective draft, extensive surveys, and criticism from within and without have stung the public conscience to the quick, and there is observable an almost feverish endeavor to blot out the

delinquencies of the past. Is this to be chilled by the cold blast of federal subsidies and federal interference? I for one pray that it may not be.

But it may be said, and it has been said, that some states have not the resources of wealth to permit the proper development and care of education unless they receive assistance from without. This has been stated more frequently than any attempt has been made to establish its truth. The fact is that at present we have no means of knowing what the available wealth of any state is, and if we had such information we have no way of determining how poor a state must be to require federal assistance for the maintenance of an effective system of public education. If there are states actually unable to support an efficient system of education, the number is certainly small. In the speaker's judgment not a single state in this country is financially unable to maintain an efficient school system. The fact is that those states which cry poverty are usually the very states which least have attempted to provide anything like an honest system of assessment valuation and which have not yet learned what it means to provide for an efficient system of taxation. It is incumbent on those who argue for federal relief to prove that states are financially unable to meet the demands for education.

That states vary in resources and in taxable wealth is obvious. What then? Shall we for that reason attempt an equalization of wealth throughout the country for school support? Any such procedure can mean but one thing—the complete nationalization of educational support and control. Until we are ready to do that we must ignore national differences in resources and in taxable wealth. It is clear, of course, that the policies of equalization in support within states is a totally different proposition from any national equalization in school support, since the state is already the recognized agency of control and administration. Equalization of support is feasible and proper only within the unit of control.

The practice of granting federal subsidies for education is bad government policy. The moment anyone supports such practice he is forced to choose between the two horns of a vicious dilemma: either he must advocate a policy of granting subsidies without provision for their supervision, accounting, and control; or he must advocate a policy of granting subsidies with definite provision for some control over their uses. In the one case he contemplates the expenditure of public funds with little or no assurance that they shall actually be expended so as to accomplish the ends designed; in the other case he contemplates interference in the control of education by those primarily responsible for its administration in the several states—and that at long distance and with respect to special projects. On the one hand he faces the example of the wasteful dissipation of public lands and public money granted to the states throughout the nineteenth century; on the other hand he faces the example of the intolerable interference with educational policies involved in the Smith-Hughes Act. There is no escape from this vicious dilemma, either horn of which involves bad governmental policies,

Nor can it be argued that the Federal Government can safely delegate authority and responsibility for the proper and effective use of federal subsidies to the state authorities. In all probability state departments of education can be relied on to see to it that federal funds are honestly expended for the purpose for which they were granted, at least within the letter of the law. But the appropriation of funds is determined primarily by state legislatures, and by their juggling of budget items and the assignment of budgetary appropriations it is perfectly possible to defeat the whole intent of federal subsidies. This the Federal Government is powerless to prevent, unless possibly by an intolerable and unheard of form of federal control. Even the famous (or infamous) "fifty-fifty" policy of federal subsidies can guaran-

tee only that at a given time additional state funds shall be expended and additional attention paid to the special object of the subsidies—always with the possibility that by the manipulation of state funds, of the state budget, and of appropriations, the state may rob Peter to pay Paul and the general development of education be advanced not a bit.

Within the brief space of seven years, beginning with provisions for the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, there has developed rapidly a tendency for the Federal Government, through subsidies to the several states, to do by indirect means what it has not the power to do directly. Within that short period have come the Smith-Lever Act for extension work, the Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education, the good-roads acts, the Act for Industrial Rehabilitation, the Maternity Act, and the extensive proposals of the Towner-Sterling Bill. Whatever be the protestations of those responsible for these measures and whatever be their declarations of intent, it is clear that we have been developing rapidly a degree of federal participation in the support and control of activities over which previously the power of the state has been supreme. Let us not be deceived. All acts providing for federal subsidies in aid of education carry with them the dynamite of federal participation in the control of education and the determination of educational policies. When that bomb explodes it will be of little service to have their advocates protest that they did not know their measures were loaded. The "fifty-fifty" policy is one of the most subtly dangerous inventions of modern federal politics, at least as far as education is concerned.

If the policy of federal subsidies were one which involved bad governmental practice but could be shown to be favorable to educational development, one might be inclined to submit to governmental defects for the sake of educational gains. However, in the judgment of

the speaker, the practice of granting federal subsidies to the several states in supposed aid of education is not only bad governmental policy but a policy which in the long run interferes with the proper development of education itself.

It is always possible to give a temporary stimulus to any enterprise by means of a special subsidy, and education in any locality can always be raised temporarily to a higher level by means of aid from without—at least as far as the special object of the subsidy is concerned. Such a practice, however, appears to have an inevitable tendency to result ultimately in a lowering of the educational morale of the local public through the lessening of local initiative, interest, and responsibility. The inherent defect of outside aid is that it operates to sap the vigor of local responsibility. Paternalism in any form inevitably generates a sense and practice of dependence. Once begun, dependence on outside support or control demands constantly increasing operation of the outside agency, and the ultimate result can only be reliance on that outside agency. Some of us believe that within the state such a result is inevitable and, all things considered, eminently desirable. Are we ready yet to go further and look toward the complete nationalization of educational support and control? Such is the legitimate expectation if we continue on the road which we have entered within the past decade. We should call a halt. Certainly we should understand clearly the policies on which we have embarked. Again let us not be deceived by the disclaimers of any intent to develop any federal centralization of education. We must judge from the character of their acts and of their recommendations rather than from their statements of intent.

Whenever federal subsidies are granted in aid of special phases of education or to meet special needs of education a serious difficulty arises in educational administration. The general policies of school adminis-

tration must be determined by state and local authorities. Upon them, with their knowledge of local conditions, of local needs, and of local sentiment, must rest the responsibility in general for the determination of educational policies, for the balancing of various forms of educational development, for the distribution of available funds according to a well-defined program of educational development. Now steps in the Federal Government and says: "Unless you are willing to waive your rights to participate in public funds which in part have been derived from the wealth available in your state and which otherwise might have been open to taxation for your educational needs, you must give particular attention to these special projects which the Federal Government is fostering. If you wish to take advantage of the federal subsidies, you must allot so much additional state money to these projects. You must change your plans for the development of education in your state, and you must let us determine in part the educational policies to be followed." Theoretically it is possible for the state to waive its right to federal funds; practically and politically, however, the infamous "fifty-fifty" policy forces the state to accept the federal subsidies and to modify its educational policies to meet the demands of the Federal Government. Such long-distance interference to school administration may be desirable. In the judgment of the speaker it is vicious.

The practice of granting federal subsidies for education is not only bad governmental policy and bad educational policy; it is also bad economic policy. It would seem to be a principle of practical finance that wastefulness in the expenditure of public funds is in direct proportion to the remoteness by the appropriating agency from the source of supply. On the whole, communities are less wasteful than counties, counties less wasteful than states, and states far less wasteful than the Federal Government. People can see the uses to which

is put money taken from them for expenditures within the community; they keep some track of county expenditures, they are not without thought for state funds, but they lose all sense of responsibility and sometimes all conscience when it comes to the matter of federal funds. The wastefulness of the Federal Government, even in matters with which it is primarily concerned and in which it acts directly, has become proverbial. When it reaches out into fields with which Congress is but little acquainted and with which it can deal but indirectly, the Federal Government appears to proceed almost without chart or compass. In education, Congress can but reach out into the dark, since it can deal but indirectly with educational administration.

When states provide for the collection and distribution of funds for education they can do so on the basis of a reasonably definite knowledge of the needs and resources of the schools within the area over which they have control. Special aid may be granted where special need can be shown. Special projects can be subsidized on the basis of known facts, and it is within the power of the state authorities to supervise the uses to which the state money is put. This is not so with the Federal Government. It must appropriate federal funds more or less blindly and without any real knowledge of the amounts needed. It must yield to political exigencies and apportion its subsidies in such a way that all states, or a majority of them, receive equivalent benefits, regardless of their merits and needs. No way has yet been devised to place the granting of federal subsidies on any thing like a sound economic basis, and it is doubtful that the apportionment of federal subsidies on any sound economic basis would ever receive the necessary support of Congress.

Finally, it may be stated that most federal subsidies for education are essentially unfair—unfair not because they operate to equalize the burdens of educational sup-

port but because they fail utterly to accomplish that end or even to attempt it. In the past, federal subsidies have had no relation to ascertained needs of the several states nor to the extent to which states have exerted themselves to provide for educational development. They have been granted to states indiscriminately on the basis of such and such elements of population or the census distribution of educational conditions. States which have extended themselves for the development of vocational education are placed in the same category as those which have never lifted a hand to assist in its development, and funds are distributed not with reference to demonstrated needs and efforts but solely on the basis of population distribution. This is fundamentally unsound and unfair, but it is doubtful that federal subsidies for education could be secured if Congress were asked to distribute funds on any other basis than one involving an indiscriminate apportionment.

